

THE
QUEST AND OCCUPATION
OF
TAIIITI
BY EMISSARIES OF SPAIN
DURING THE YEARS 1772-1776.

TOLD IN DESPATCHES AND OTHER
CONTEMPORARY DOCUMENTS;

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH AND COMPILED, WITH
NOTES AND AN INTRODUCTION,
BY
BOLTON GLANVILL CORNEY,
Companion of the Imperial Service Order.

VOLUME II

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THE QUEST AND OCCUPATION OF
TAHITI
BY EMISSARIES OF SPAIN
IN 1772-76.

VOLUME II

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(1688-1757)

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[For further particulars relating to the Plates and Charts
see p. xlvi of the PREFATORY REMARKS.]

CORRIGENDA

Page 3, line 2...*delete the comma*

„ 23, „ 7...*for use read observe*

„ 41, foot-note 1... „, A „, A

„ 80, line 18... „, in „, with

„ 105, foot-note ... „, lxiii „, lxiv

„ 120, „ ... „, Ataroa read Ata'aroa

„ 137, „ I... „, " " "

„ 2... „, whose other name was Vairaatoa *read otherwise Terii-hinai-Atua; and before Vairao insert i*

„ 166, „ I... „, taata toa read ta'ata toa

„ „ „ 4... „, Tupuaemunu read Tapuaemunu

„ 190, „ 2... „, Tupuae Manu read Tapuaemunu

„ „ „ „, Tupuae's read Tapuaemunu's

„ 191, line I... „, [Tupuae Manu] read [Tapuaemunu]

„ 219, „ 10... „, Agüera's *read Agüeros's*

„ 229, foot-note ... „, ten *read fourteen*

„ 249, „ I... „, Ataaroa read Ata'aroa

„ 251, line 22... „, Bonganbil *read Bouganbil*

„ 254, foot-note ... „, Taaroa read Ta'aroa

„ 259, line I... „, mostly *read almost*

„ 266, foot-note ... „, Ataaroa read Ata'aroa

„ 338, „ 2...*after neutral tint insert There are also two aquatints of the same [12. Tab. 22] and after silver in the last line insert and so does the Victoria and Albert Museum*

„ 370, „ *delete all the words after form in line 5 as far as and including nor in line 6*

„ „ „ ...*for [Bibl. no. 104 bis] read [Bibl. no. 105]*

„ 471, „ ...*after monochrome insert There are also two aquatints of the same [12. Tab. 22] and for Tetuaunurau read Tetua-Unurau*



PREFATORY REMARKS

HE first volume of this history deals mainly with the political situation and events, in and out of Europe, which gave the Spanish Ministry cause to resent the establishment, by any foreign Power, of outposts or settlements within the 'Indies' and territorial waters claimed by King CARLOS the Third as his own rightful dominion. It reveals the precautions enjoined in various Royal Commands to Viceroy s and colonial Governors for the discovery and rooting out of any such foreign settlements that might already exist on the coasts or islands of the Southern Sea ; and relates how the nucleus of a small British post at Port Egmont, in the Falkland Islands, was eventually disclosed and forcibly seized under orders issued (at the King of Spain's bidding) by Don Francisco Bucareli y Ursua, the Governor of Buenos Ayres, in 1769-70.

Volume I further explains how, just at this time, the Viceroy of Peru took up the quest in western waters, and became inspired to send out a naval expedition for the re-discovery and examination of 'David's Land¹' ; and how, being less than satisfied with its results, His Excellency organised a second exploring party, in 1772, and directed the officer commanding it to include Tahiti—then only recently discovered and made known to the world—in his search, and investigations.

¹ i.e. Davis's or Easter Island (*Rapa nui*). Cf. Bibl. no. 32(a).

The officer in question was Don DOMINGO DE BOENECHEA, an elderly, large-hearted, and upright captain in the Royal Navy, a Biscayan by birth, and described as a prudent and skilful navigator; his ship was the frigate *Aguila*, mounting 22 guns, a short account of which will be found at p. lx of the INTRODUCTION. The official Instructions issued by the Viceroy to Capt. Boenechea for this voyage are printed at pp. 263-278 of the volume mentioned, and are followed by those delivered to two Franciscan clerics, *Fr.* José Amich and *Fr.* Juan Bonamo, who were appointed to take part in the expedition, charged with the duty of laying a foundation for the rescue of the natives "from their wretched Idolatry," and for winning them over "by discreet and gentle methods to a knowledge of the true God," and, especially, to a recognition of the King of Spain as their suzerain lord.

Capt. Boenechea's journal of his commission, translated from the official copies sent home by the Viceroy and still preserved in the *Archivo general de Indias* at Sevilla, is included; but the records kept by two other members of the *Aguila*'s party, Don Raimundo Bonacorsi and *Fr.* José Amich (the latter a Franciscan friar of the Ocpa College who had previously served as a Master in the Navy), had to be held over for a later page and are now presented in the first portion of the present Volume II, together with a fairly compendious vocabulary of the old Tahitian dialect, and a curious Schedule of Questions set by the Viceroy for the guidance of the expedition in collecting geographical, social, and general information.

So much for the QUEST.

We now come to the period of the *Aguila*'s second voyage to Tahiti. The materials composing its history fill the major portion of this second volume—pp. 91-353—and deal more particularly with the Spaniard's OCCUPATION

of the island, and the extension of their cruise as far as Ra'iataea, and Ra'ivavae.

It was again Boenechea who embarked, on this second expedition, in command of his old ship the *Aguila*; and one may presume that the first part of her official journal was composed under his auspices. But, most unfortunately, Boenechea died (from natural causes) just when his labours were at the point of completion; and the command for the homeward voyage devolved on his senior lieutenant Don Tomás Gayangos, whose signature the journal consequently bears. Boenechea's illness was a short one, and the precise nature of it is not disclosed. It did not prevent him, however, from making his will; and he appointed his shipmate Gayangos to be its sole executor. Some attested declarations and other documents, relating to probate and the custody of Boenechea's personal effects, remain preserved in the *Archivo de Indias*.

Boenechea's fine qualities have been represented by the Viceroy Don Manuel de Amat, who observed "I felt the death of this officer keenly, because of his kindly nature and good services¹"—liberal testimony from an autocrat of Amat's type, noted as he was for austerity of temperament and a high-handed bearing². The Viceroy De Croix also alludes to Capt. Boenechea as "an officer of very distinguished merit³".

But, dour in manner, and inflexible in all matters of discipline, as Don Manuel de Amat undoubtedly was, this Viceroy had nevertheless many redeeming points in his nature, and was by no means all harshness within. It was the blending of his official force of character with his softer qualities and ready charity that brought distinction

¹ Vol. I, p. 14.

² Cf. vol. I, p. xxii; and Bibl. nos. 32 and 32(a).

³ Cf. vol. II, p. 425.

to his reign; and caused him, personally, to be esteemed as well as feared, by those who dared measure his reputation. It was the more kindly side of the Viceroy's nature that prompted His Excellency to insist, in the Instructions, on the Tahitians being gently treated¹; and moved him to enjoin coaxing and conciliation, not coercion, as the most proper means for securing their submission. One of the most pleasing and memorable features in this fragment of the history of exploration is, indeed, the uniformly considerate, patient, and humane treatment meted out to the natives by all the Spanish officers. Not only was this attitude enjoined by the Viceroy's Instructions, but the several narratives show, without ostentation, that it was loyally and sympathetically maintained; and in the case of a certain *alferes*, or ensign, Don Juan Ruiz de Apodaca—whose name is only once mentioned in the journals, and then quite incidentally—it is significant that his biographers lay stress on that young man's good qualities in the same direction. He "carefully studied the character and genius of the natives," writes Gabriel², and "in his relations with them he displayed tact and courtesy, never making them a promise that he did not fulfil."

The sociable and friendly intercourse between the *Aguila's* officers and the Tahitians offers a pattern worthy to be followed by all explorers; and should go far towards redeeming Castilian gentlefolk of that period from the obloquy to which deeds of violence and oppression committed in South America have exposed their memory.

Hence it seems the more remarkable, as well as unfortunate, that the two missionary friars chosen to represent the Spanish nation, at Tahiti, during the *Aguila's* absence,

¹ See also the INTRODUCTION (vol. I, pp. xxv–xxvi) for remarks on this feature.

² Bibl. no. 42 *ter*; see also 38(*a*) and 85, and cf. vol. I, p. lvii.

should have proved so hopelessly inept as was the case; yet, though lacking in sympathy and at times in courtesy towards the natives, their conduct was never cruel, and rarely even harsh: their foibles lay in quite the opposite direction. And this recalls an incident complained of by them in their Diary¹. Some roysterers, exhilarated by participation in the *heiava*, gathered round the mission house in a spirit of jocular contempt (familiar enough to those who have hobnobbed with Polynesians) and jeered at the shocked and timid *Padres* within, through the reed screen of the verandah, dubbing them (amongst other epithets) “*poreho!*”—which, then as now, meant ‘shell-fish.’ It seems probable that the idea of this banter was to liken the good friars, living in habitual retirement within their wooden house and not daring to face the yelling and the entourage of obscene revels going on in the vicinity, to molluscs afraid to emerge from their shell. This interpretation of the jest comes, perhaps, nearer to the truth than the somewhat fanciful alternative propounded in the foot-note cited.

The journals and despatches in this collection are so explicit, and, for the most part, so consistently narrative in character, that little comment on them, as compositions or records, seems called for. Such elucidatory remarks as it has been deemed useful to offer have been printed chiefly in the form of foot-notes to the text; for facility of reference. The method has its drawbacks, however; it invites repetition, and is apt to multiply cross references where these might seem not really necessary. That feature has not been overlooked in the editing; but endeavour has been made to keep it subservient to the interests of the reader. The student may avail himself of such notes, to what extent he pleases: the bored reader is at liberty to pass

¹ Cf. pp. 202, 216–17, including foot-note.

any or all of them over, and will not count his loss. But many members of the Hakluyt Society are keen geographers and experts in the literature of other exploring expeditions in Tahitian waters—the writings of Capt. Cook, Sir Joseph Banks, Sydney Parkinson, M. de Bougainville, the two Forsters, William Ellis, surgeon, and William Ellis, missionary, the historic account of Capt. Sam Wallis's voyage compiled by Dr Hawkesworth, the *Duff* volume, Vancouver's work, Turnbull's, and others¹. Comparisons with passages in the texts of these authors have therefore been freely indicated, in the foot-notes.

But it has been thought desirable to intersperse, in addition, a few editorial paragraphs (always within square brackets) between the various journals and despatches, in order to gain continuity in the subject-matter of the work. It is hoped that such explanatory paragraphs in the second volume, as in the first, may be found to serve the purpose for which they are intended.

Looking through the two volumes, from beginning to end, I am encouraged to affirm that, saving one document which is necessarily reserved for separate issue (Máximo Rodríguez' diary), the history of the Spanish mission to Tahiti is here presented in a complete form. Only two other papers, perhaps, might have been included in the compilation if I had been able to find them. One of these should contain the Instructions mentioned by Cayetano de Lángara² as having been issued to him by the Viceroy Amat on the 27th of September, 1775 (the day he put to sea). Those Instructions have, however, not come to light; and there is no clue to them in the Viceroy's index of despatches. The other missing paper is Amat's despatch

¹ Bibl. nos. 28, 29, 30; 10; 84; 19; 40, 41; 107; 36; 51; 96;
121 bis; 120 bis.

² Cf. p. 368, lines 17-19 and note 2.

no. 763, addressed to Don Julian de Arriaga on the 1st of April, 1773. It is indexed as submitting the Service Records of Don Domingo de Boenechea and Don Juan Hervé to that date, and might therefore prove of some interest to readers of those officers' doings in the Tahiti commission; but the absence of these two documents does not break the thread of the main story with which this work is concerned, and is not of any real importance to it.

The narrative and dissertations by Don José de Andía y Varela (pp. 221-317) form perhaps the most generally interesting of all the ship journals in this collection. It, and its writer, have already been discussed in the INTRODUCTION¹. Although the Viceroy evidently exercised rigid care in his choice of Andía as a helpmate for Boenechea, in the second expedition, His Excellency left no record in his despatches, nor in his Recital, by which we may judge what satisfaction he accorded to this prudent and loyal shipmaster for the careful conduct of his share in the fortunes of the *Aguila's* mission, and his punctilious fulfilment of the duties and obligations prescribed in the storeship's charter-party.

That Andía y Varela's journal should have received little, if any, official recognition of its merits is curious; that it should have remained the principal authentic source of information about the second and most important of the *Aguila's* voyages to Tahiti is also curious. But that, in the interval between then and now, it should have been twice printed (in Spanish) yet twice lost sight of for fifty years at a time, and never translated into any other language until to-day, seems even more remarkable. Its interest, its merits, its record of new discoveries, its independent character, deserved earlier recognition: especially

¹ Vol. I, pp. xlvi-xlvii.

by such an historian as Admiral Burney¹, who was himself present at Tahiti with Capt. Cook, in 1777, when the Spanish mission house and memorial cross there became revealed, and who might therefore have been expected to feel a particular interest in their history.

In these circumstances the task of presenting Andía y Varela's Journal now to readers of English, under the seal and warranty of the Council of the Hakluyt Society, has been a welcome one to the translator. Let one hope that, by this means, the shipmaster's "crowning wish" may yet, albeit vicariously, be "attained"; and that, on the part of the Society's members and other readers, there will at last "ensue that satisfaction²" to which he so ardently aspired, but which it seems was denied him—at any rate by the Viceroy—in his lifetime.

A few more particulars about the *Diario de Lima*, in which some account of the *Aguila*'s mission was made public in 1792, have been gathered since the first volume³ of this history went to press. It was the first daily newspaper ever printed in South America, being founded in 1790 and conducted by one Jaime Bausate y Mesa, a native of Estremadura in Old Spain who, at the age of twenty-six or twenty-seven years, had then only recently come to the colonies. The first number appeared on October 1, but the paper proved short-lived, surviving for only two years, during the latter one of which its editorship passed to Don Martín Saldaña. Its full title was [*El*] *Diario / de ; Lima : / curioso, erudito, económico y comercial. / Año de MDCCCLXXX. / Tomo I. / Por / Don Jaime Bausate y Mesa.* Each number usually comprised

¹ Cf. vol. I, pp. xxxix, xl, and Bibl. no. 21 bis.

² See Andía's preamble to his Journal, p. 223.

³ Cf. p. xxxvii.

a single sheet, folded into four pages; but some numbers occupied eight pages. It appeared daily during a portion of its career; and the account it gives of Boenechea's voyage occurs in the number for June the 1st, 1792. The subscription to it was 12 rls.¹ a month, delivered in Lima². It seems to have inspired the idea of the *Mercurio Peruano*³, a really scientific periodical, for the times, which appeared in twelve tomes (4°) during 1791-5.

In the INTRODUCTION to this work (vol. I, pp. xl-xli), and in sundry of the foot-notes, mention is made of the oblivion which for many years shrouded the *Aquila*'s geographical discoveries. Admiral Krusenstern did so much useful work for the diffusion of hydrographic knowledge, by collecting and sifting records of exploring voyages, that later compilers have been apt to accept his *Memoires* [Bibl. no. 58] as exhaustive and infallible. But we know now, by the light of more recent researches, that his labours were not exhaustive, and their results not infallible; though the information contained in his volumes was fuller, and, so far as it went, more accurate, and better marshalled, than any printed summary of a kindred character issued before Krusenstern's time.

The publication of Boenechea's, Gayangos', and Andía y Varela's records should now serve to establish the true tale of their discoveries and do justice to the work of these navigators, so simply and modestly set forth in their journals. A great thinker has declared that "the only history worth reading is that written at the time of which it treats; the history of what was done and seen, out of the mouths of the men who did and saw⁴." Critics may deem that too

¹ About half-a-crown.

² Bibl. no. 114 (*a*).

³ Bibl. no. 115.

⁴ The idea is not new; and one is tempted to suspect that Ruskin culled it from Montaigne (Chap. LXVII).

sweeping a statement, and one not meriting universal application; but it enshrines a strong element of truth, and cites a principle which has not only inspired the method of presenting history adopted in these particular volumes, but governs the general scheme and purpose for whose fulfilment the Hakluyt Society was founded.

The commanders of the *Aguila* and *Júpiter* sighted, named, and laid down on their chart, in all twenty-two islands of which they themselves had no previous knowledge. Some seventeen of this number, however, had already been met with and reported by Wallis, Cook, and Bougainville; while, in the case of *Anaa* (and perhaps also of *Makatea*), there is good reason to ascribe their first discovery to Quirós.

It may therefore be useful to recapitulate here all the original discoveries made during the *Aguila's* three expeditions to Tahiti, and now verified as such; they are accordingly set forth in the table opposite.

Andía furthermore believed that he saw land in the direction where *Makatea* lay (pp. 239-40), and considered it to be that island as subsequently named and described to him by native pilots. But it is obvious, from the position of his vessel at the time, that he must have been deceived (*ibid.*, note 3). Both he and Gayangos also mention an island that they thought they saw in the vicinity of *Tapuaemanu* (pp. 166, 306, 316) and understood, from the natives ~~on board~~, to be called *Emanu* or *Manua*. There is no land near the position assigned to this fly-away, excepting *Tapuaemanu* itself; but the appearance lay almost on the bearing of the real *Manua*—better known as “*Tubuai*”—which, as a matter of fact, however, is situated some three hundred and fifty miles farther to the S. and W. I am indebted to Mr Tati Salmon, District Chief of Papara, for the identification of this name *Manua*, which at first caused me many doubts.

Original Discoveries made by the Spanish explorers: Anis 1772-1775.

Date	Island	Name bestowed	Situation	Discoverer	Ship
1772	TAUERE	<i>San Simon y' Judas</i>	Tuamotu or 'Low' Archipelago	Domingo de Boenechea	Frigate <i>Aguila</i>
"	HARAIKI	<i>San Quintín</i>	"	"	"
	TATAKOTO ¹	<i>San Narciso</i>	"	{ José de Andía y Varela	Storeship <i>Júpiter</i>
1774		"	"	José de Andía y Varela	"
"	AMANU	<i>Las Animas</i>	"	Domingo de Boenechea	Frigate <i>Aguila</i>
"	HIKUERÚ	<i>San Juan</i>	"	"	"
"	TAHANEA	<i>San Blas</i>	"	L' Tomás Gayangos	Storeship <i>Júpiter</i>
	RA'IVAAE ²	<i>Santa Rosa</i>	Austral Group	José de Andía y Varela	"
		...			

¹ Discovered and named by each commander independently, on the same astronomical day, without sighting the other's vessel.

² Discovered by both commanders jointly, sailing in company: named by L' Gayangos.

And this leads me to express here my obligations and grateful thanks to the same gentleman for many friendly communications and words of counsel vouchsafed on points concerning local history and usages, both at the time of my residence in Tahiti and during the six years that have since elapsed. Descended, through his late honoured mother, from Tu-i-te-ra'i Arorua, Head Chieftain of the clan Teva and grandfather of that Tu-i-te-ra'i whose son Aimo and daughter-in-law Purea figure so prominently in the narratives of Capts. Wallis and Cook, and others, Tati—as he is (*more tahitense*) more familiarly called—unites in his mind the patriotic sentiment and pride of race that his family history inspires, with a healthy discrimination instilled by an English education and French experience. The latter Tu-i-te-ra'i's lady was Te-roro-e-ora i Fare-roi, and their daughter Tetua-Unurau married Aroma-i-te-ra'i (her cousin). Te Vahine Moeatua, better known as Purahi, or O Pu for short, was the daughter of this union, born about 1736, and was the “Opù” or “Opo” of these Journals¹. My discussions and communications with Tati thus brought me into touch with living members of the family of Teva Chiefs to which Purahi and her son Vehiatua, who may be termed the principal hero of the story on the side of the natives, belonged. His father, Purahi's first husband, was the Overlord, or principal *arii*, of Taiarapu—the old Vehiatua whose tribesmen vanquished the forces of Tutaha assisted by Tu and his northern partisans, at the isthmus of Taravao in 1771, and whose death occurred a few months later, before the first visit of the Spaniards. “This Vehiatua,” writes Dr Hawkesworth, quoting from Banks' MS. notes, “was a thin old man, with a very white head and beard, and had with him a very comely woman about five and

¹ See the table of her lineage, p. xxxviii.

twenty years old, whose name was TOUDIDDE. We had often heard the name of this woman, and, from report and observation, we had reason to think that she was the OBEREA of this Peninsula¹." The name "Toudidde" corresponds with "Tautiti" (or Tauhitihiti) whom Andía y Varela mentions (p. 276) as having been the spouse or paramour of old Vehiatua's elder son, renounced by him when he succeeded his father in office². But the interview with Cook and Banks took place in June of 1769, and this statement must therefore be accepted with caution (if Banks' estimate of "Toudidde's" age was approximately right) since Georg Forster considered young Vehiatua to be only "17 or 18 years" old in 1773³—about twenty months or so after his father's death—while the Spanish *padres* set him down as 18 or 20 in 1774–5. The description (excepting as to age) and repute attributed by Banks to "Toudidde" would seem rather to point to Purahi as the lady of whom he and Captain Cook had often heard and were led to regard as the "Oberea" (Purea) of the lesser peninsula, especially when the similarity in names is considered. Be that as it may, Purahi's sons each assumed the hereditary rank and title of "Vehiatua" when they respectively succeeded to the Overlordship.

Much of the family history of their clan, the TEVA, has been preserved in native sagas and other forms of oral tradition, and was gathered together into writing by the late Arii Taimai. Time was, she explains, when (some three centuries or so ago) when the heads of two families in Tahiti used the right to gird themselves with the *maro ura*, or sacred cincture of scarlet loriquets' feathers, which constituted the insignia of most exalted rank and godliness. They were the Chief of Vaiari, a small district adjoining the isthmus

¹ Bibl. no. 51, vol. II, p. 158.

² Cf. p. 276.

³ So did Juan Hervé: see vol. I, p. 357.

on its western border, and the Chiefess of Punaauia, situated farther along the same coast of Tahiti-nui. The titular designation of the Vaiari Chief was Terii-nui-o-Tahiti¹: that of the lady was Tetua-nui-e-Marua-i-te-ra'i². But the Overlord of Papara, whose district lies between the two above-named, possessed alone the right to wear the *maro tea*, the nap of which was formed of saffron-coloured feathers; and he was officially styled Terii-rere-i-To'oara'i³.

These august personages were termed *arii rahi*, or Overlords; and, being esteemed to be descended from the gods of the nation, their persons were regarded as sacred, so that subordinate *arii* and *ra'atira* or gentry stripped themselves to the waist in their presence in token of respect. More than this, the very ground the *arii rahi* stood on became *ipso facto* their freehold; and for this reason they were carried on men's shoulders whenever they went abroad, that they might not ruthlessly or inadvertently alienate the property of their vassals and neighbours. Yet, inviolable as the *arii rahi* were, probably neither one preserved that character as of right throughout every part of the island; though honours and hospitality were freely extended to them by courtesy, in peace time. They were sacrosanct only amongst their own people and in the tribal domains of Chiefs with whom their families were connected by marriage—an affinity that counted for much in the precedence, and political relations, of Tahitian society.

In the remote past the *arii rahi* of Vaiari was in like wise Patriarch of the TEVA, a large and influential clan occupying the south-western part of Tahiti-nui and all the

¹ 'The Lord paramount.'

² 'The arch-goddess Marua of the heavens.'

³ The name 'Rere' suggests a connection with *rearea* (yellow), from *rea*, turmeric: a widespread Polynesian root. To'oara'i was the old *marae* of the Papara Chiefs, before Amo and Purea built the enormous pile of Mahaiatea.

lesser peninsula called Taiarapu. It seems to have been the only clan of its quality and magnitude in the island: its prestige had no parallel, and was rivalled only by that of certain chiefly septs of Ra'iatea (the Olympus of Eastern Polynesia), Mo'orea, and Atehuru—which last included the Punaauia family. The patriarchal dignity passed long ago, however, from Terii-nui to Terii-rere, his kinsman of Papara; whether by devolution or by usurpation is, I think, a matter of doubt. But thenceforward the right to convoke the Teva chieftains and their clansmen for moot, raid, or defence vested in the last named Chief—the wearer of the *maro tea* in the *marae* To'oara'i.

The Teva lands extended over eight districts (a typical number in Polynesia, significant perhaps of subdivision); but the clan comprised two stocks only: the inner division or Teva-i-uta who occupied the districts west of the isthmus as far as to the borders of Paea, and the seaward division or Teva-i-ta'i who dominated the south-eastern or lesser peninsula. The principal chieftain of the Teva-i-ta'i was the lord of Hui and Taiarapu, two districts united under the name Teahupoo (skull-heap) and situated at the southern-most part of the peninsula now called Taiarapu as a whole.

The hereditary title or style of this Chief was Vehiatua, and, in some respects at least, he acted as lord-lieutenant of the peninsula under the suzerainty of the Papara Patriarch; for it was to Vehiatua only that the latter addressed his summons to council or war for all the Teva-i-ta'i districts, and it was Vehiatua's office to pass on the call to each of his peers and barons. Thus we know that, as far back as tradition preserves their history, the Vehiatuas were hereditary Chiefs of the most notable rank and influence in Taiarapu¹.

¹ A 'Vehiatua' was still the officially recognised Chief of Teahupoo district in 1865, if not later, though not a direct descendant.

We know, furthermore, that Tautira—Hatutira or Fatutira as it used to be called—was not always the patrimony or residential demesne of the Vehiatuas, and that formerly they dwelt in Teahupoo, on the south coast of the peninsula; but the limits of their sway in that period can no longer be stated clearly, because of changes that have taken place in some of the district boundaries and local names through internecine contentions.

About nine generations before Arii Taimai's, or say the middle of the seventeenth century, the *arii* of Hatutira was one Taví, who "prided himself on being as generous as he was strong." Taví's wife Taurua, a maiden of Hitiaa, was considered such a paragon of loveliness and affability that Tu-i-te-ra'i, the reigning Overlord of Papara, relying on his vassal's generosity and his own precedence, and having duly observed the formalities proper in such a case according to the local rules of etiquette, thought fit to borrow the damsel, under a promise to return her to Hatutira at the end of seven days. Such were her attractions, however, that Tu-i-te-ra'i proved loth to part with her, and the beautiful and bewitching Taurua continued with him at Papara. Taví avenged this perfidy by raiding the Overlord's home district, where a party of swashbucklers not only succeeded in recovering Taurua, but actually made a prisoner of Tu-i-te-ra'i himself. They were on the point of putting him to death, but he protested that only a Chief his equal in rank might exercise this privilege with propriety; whereupon his captors, "feeling the force of this objection," carried him wounded, bound and blindfolded, into Taví's presence at Hatutira—a matter of twenty-five miles' journey. Taví, filled with pride and satisfaction at the triumph of his men, shrank from slaying his now helpless adversary: particularly in his own home where the dictates of hospitality would have rendered such an act dishonourable. "A great Chief vanquished and spared must be

treated as a guest and as an equal," says Arii Taimai. But such, indeed, was Tavi's nobility of heart that he went a step farther and excelled himself for generosity by voluntarily relinquishing to Tu-i-te-ra'i the fair *causa causans* of the uproar, whom he nevertheless bemoaned—albeit a broken chattel—as his "beautiful morning star¹."

The overthrow of Papara in this conflict was necessarily (as Arii Taimai observes in her *Memoirs*) an event of wide public import, and one too serious not to affect intertribal political relations throughout the island. Tavi's triumph soon made him, in fact, the most considerable Chief in all Tahiti for the nonce; and even the Atehuru family dared not openly oppose him. Small wonder, then, that he developed the Tahitian equivalent for 'swollen head,' which reached a climax when he asserted his supremacy by declaring a *rahui*, or general embargo, for the endowment of his little son Tavi Hau-roa, the first-born of the famed Taurua. A *rahui* was, of course, a serious affair: it meant the reservation for the time being of all natural produce over and above the bare necessities of the people, and of every hand-made chattel as well. It was in fact a sumptuary law of the most arbitrary kind. The prerogative to impose a *rahui* could therefore only be exercised by the most aristocratic and powerful Chiefs. Yet although Tavi's direct authority was limited to his own district of Hatutira—and now, by right of conquest, Papara also—such was the veneration of Tahitians for their ancient institutions, that his decree soon received recognition, and obedience was rendered to it by courtesy throughout the island, so that its influence ceased only at Mo'orea.

The very nature of a *rahui*, however, forbade its indiscriminate prolongation; while the suddenness of Tavi's

¹ The name 'Taurua' means morning star. Tu-i-te-ra'i, on the other hand, compared her, so the verse goes, to the brilliant Rarotongan loriqueet of scarlet plumage.

ascendancy favoured the growth of envy and stimulated discontent. His foremost rival was his neighbour and erstwhile suzerain the then Vehiatua, in Teahupoo, a kinsman of the discomfited Tu-i-te-ra'i. This Vehiatua had a daughter Tetua-e-huri, who was by birth and position certainly no less a great lady than Taurua had been before the path of virtue became tortuous for her : indeed, her ancestry was of higher degree than Taurua's, for Hitiaa was an outlandish district of no particular account, as it has remained to this day. Tetua had not long been married at that time : her husband was Ta'aroa Manahune, the ancestor of Tu, who was *arii* of Pare-Arue at the opposite extreme of Tahiti-nui, and over him also the lady Tetua had somewhat the advantage in social prestige. It chanced, about this time, that Tetua was expected to give birth to an heir ; and a conclave of Hui midwives, who had been summoned to consider the augury, recommended an addition of baked pork to her dietary as a very desirable prophylactic measure in the circumstances. Nobody liked the thraldom of a *rahui*, and it may be that the opportunity was thus seized, or even designed, for breaking through the embargo on swine, in defiance of Tavi's decree. At any rate, notes Arii Taimai, Vehiatua did not enforce its observance in this crisis ; and, a hog being slain, pork was dressed and set before her ladyship, and she did eat.

By this act an overt and dire insult was offered to Tavi's dignity ; and, instantly taking up the gauntlet, he sped with an army of fighting men into Teahupoo, where they were signally routed by the warriors of that district led by Vehiatua. The latter Chief proved less magnanimous towards his assailant than Tavi had shown himself in the affair with Tu-i-te-ra'i ; and, not content with seizing and occupying all the Hatutira demesnes, appears to have banished Tavi from the island altogether

—to the Tuamotu it is said—for at this link in the chain of events he disappears from history. It is stated, however, that the Chief's young son came back to Tahiti after a time, and was allowed a small tenure in Afaahiti, with some privileges; but one fateful day, when flying his kite across the isthmus, the wind carried it off and, in coming to earth away to leeward, it got entangled in a tree within the very sacred precincts of the scarlet-feather *marae* of Farepua in Vaiari. The arch-*tahua* chanced to be engaged just then in some ritual; and the unhappy boy, not realising the profanity of his trespass, in the excitement of pursuing his kite, set about climbing the tree in an endeavour to recover it. For this sacrilege he was instantly punished with death.

It was in this manner that Vehiatua's family became lords in residence of Hatutira, and built their manorial homestead and *marae* on the breezy and pleasant strip of flat land that juts into the lagoon beside the embouchure of the Vai-te-piha, where the Spaniards found them established in 1772-6. These events added influence and lustre to the Vehiatuas' hereditary supremacy over other districts of the lesser peninsula. They did more: for Vehiatua-i-Mata'i grew to be not only a powerful ally but a standing menace (according as circumstances might point) to the senior stock of his clan and its Overlord the Patriarch of Papara—who, before this time, had acquired the sacred, as distinguished from the temporal, character from Terii-nui-o-Tahiti of Vaiari. This menace became extinguished, later on, by a marriage between Vehiatua of the next generation but one and the Papara Chiefess Te-eva Pirioi, granddaughter of Tu-i-te-ra'i Aro-rua and his adopted wife, the renowned Taurua, and great aunt in the fifth generation back of Arii Taimai herself. From that marriage issued another Vehiatua; and this last one's son, if the generations are rightly recorded, was the identical “thin

old man, with a very white head and beard," who conversed with Banks and Captain Cook on the 27th of June, 1769, at "Oaitipeha," where they found him "sitting near some pretty canoe awnings, under which, we supposed, he and his attendants slept!" This "Waheatua," as Hawkesworth spells the name, was the husband of Purahi, as above explained; and the elder of their two sons was the Vehiatua called Terii TA'ATA-URAURA², the hero of the natives' intercourse with the Spaniards, and the last but one (his brother) of the direct line in that dynasty.

The illness and death of this young Chief at Tautira, during the sojourn of the *padres* and interpreter there, afford a pathetic and deeply regrettable incident in the history of the Spanish mission. It had, possibly, not only much to do with the unsuccessful issue of the *padres'* share in that mission, but may have been actually brought about by the foreigners' presence. For it is quite conceivable that the *Aguila's* people unwittingly introduced among the islanders micro-organisms against whose pathogenicity they themselves, though not the natives, were by long habituation immune: as has often happened to other remote island communities³.

The following passages penned by Georg Forster offer a description of Vehiatua's personality in 1773:—

[At *Tautira*, August 23, 1773.]—"The captains, with several officers, Dr Sparrman, my father, and myself, went on shore early on the 23rd. We proceeded about a mile along the river from

¹ Bibl. no. 51, vol. II, p. 158. This interview took place at the spot pictured at p. 124 of the present volume.

² Hawkesworth (*loc. cit.*) writes him down "Te-aree," mistaking his title for his name. The personal name of this Vehiatua is nowhere mentioned in the Spanish journals; but, as the elder of Purahi's sons, he is well remembered in the family traditions, and his personal name is here supplied on the authority of the present Chief of the Teva.

³ Witness the "strangers cold" at St Kilda: measles in Fiji: &c., &c.

which we filled our casks, being conducted by Opao, one of the natives, who had lodged on board. A great croud coming down towards us, those who surrounded us pulled off their upper garments, so as to uncover their shoulders, which is a mark of respect due to the king. We presently joined the croud, in the midst of whom Aheatua sat down on a large stool, cut out of solid wood, which one of his people had hitherto carried. He immediately recollectec captain Cook, and made room for him on his stool, while captain Furneaux, and the rest of us, chose large stones for our seats. An immense number of natives thronged about us on all sides, and included us in a very narrow circle, increasing the heat to such a degrec, that the king's attendants were frequently obliged to keep them back, by beating them.

* * * * *

O-AHEATUA, the king of O-Taheitee-eetee (Little Taheitee), which is otherwise called Tiarraboo, was a youth of seventeen or eighteen years of age, well-made, about five feet six inches high, and likely to grow taller. His countenance was mild, but unmeaning; and rather expressed some signs of fear and distrust at our first meeting, which suited ill with the ideas of majesty, and yet are often the characteristics of lawless power. His colour was of the fairest of his people, and his lank hair of a light brown, turning into reddish at the tips, or being what is commonly called sandy. He wore at present no other dress than a white sash (*maro*) round the waist to the knees, made of the best kind of cloth, and his head as well as all the rest of his body was uncovered.

On both sides of him sat several chiefs and nobles, distinguished by their superior stature, which is the natural effect of the immense quantity of food which they consume. One of them was punctured in a surprising manner, which we had never seen before, large black blotches of various shapes almost covering his arms, legs, and sides. This man, whose name was E-Tee¹, was also remarkable for his enormous corpulence, and for the deference which the aree (king) paid to him, consulting him almost upon every occasion.

The king, during the time he sat on the stool, which was his throne, preserved a grave or rather stiff deportment, scarce to be expected at his years, though it seemed to be studied and assumed, only to make our meeting more solemn²."

¹ Ti'i-torea:

² Bibl. no. 40, vol. I, pp. 304-6.

In point of fact, as these Spanish records prove, Vehiatua's character was notable for gentleness, affection and tractability; and, so far from exhibiting signs of the instinct of "lawless power" which Forster thought he detected in the features of this young Chief¹, his words and actions seem rather to have reflected the timidity of a fawn than portrayed the fierceness of a wolf. That he permitted human sacrifices to take place, as narrated in the *padres'* and interpreter's diaries, was not his fault and does not affect the conclusion; for those rites were prescribed by long established custom in accordance with Tahitian cult, and were conducted by the *Tahua* or functionaries of the hierurgic caste whom Vehiatua, ill as he was, would have been powerless to oppose in regard to so time-honoured, mystic, and—in the people's view—auspicious an institution.

Neither Hodges nor Webber has bequeathed to us any portrait of Vehiatua. The former had good opportunities for securing one in 1773, but seems not to have used them. The latter did not visit Tahiti until after Vehiatua's death; but he then made an interesting sketch of the young Chief's body as it lay shrouded in the little lich-rest on the islet between the Vai-te-piha and the bay-shore at Tautira, in 1777, a finished pen and wash drawing of which was exhibited in the Royal Academy in 1789². Fr. Amich relates that this Chief was "very fair and ruddy, notwithstanding sunburn" (p. 80); and Lt Blas de Barreda noticed that "he had the lower lip blue" (tattoo'd), constituting the caste mark of the Vehiatua dynasty (p. 471): this, Tati tells me, was the case.

¹ In this sally, Forster was but drawing his bow at a venture, for he had not been a week at Tahiti when he met Vehiatua, and he never saw him after that day.

² See pp. 470-1, with notes. K 7. Tab. 74 (4) is an aquatint, not a hand drawing. Another similar aquatint, but in different shades, is 12. Tab. 22 (31): both published by Mr Webber himself.

Vehiatua's mother Purahi, of whom local tradition still tells as "noted for power of mind in governing in the interests of her weak husband," became a widow, as some say in 1773, but as I think in 1771 or the early part of 1772—since none of the Spaniards (who first reached Tahiti in November of the last-named year) make any mention of her original lord; though they frequently allude to Ti'i-torea, her second husband, both as such and as step-father to the *arii* her son. This Chief, of lesser rank than Vehiatua, is the one quoted by the Spaniards as "Titorea," and by Georg Forster as "E-Tee"—another example of the ready adaptability of Spanish orthography to Tahitian speech sounds, and the rude inaccuracy of the English habit of spelling at that period. Ti'i-torea was distinguished for his courtesy, tact, and liberal judgment. His body was tattoo'd almost all over, so that Bayly the astronomer declared in his journal "he appeared black at a distance" (p. 478). The same diarist styles Ti'i-torea the "prime Minister," and considered him an "intelligent, clever Man, for an Indian" (*ibid.*); while Edgar, the *Discovery*'s Master, writing in his log in 1777, alludes to him more bluntly as "the Man that had the care of the Young Chief" (p. 475)¹.

The person and individuality of Tu, the paramount Chief in the island during Cook's time, have been so freely described by eye-witnesses whose writings are the classics of Tahitian history that little need be added about him. Moreover, the circumstances which gave Tu ascendancy over contemporary Chiefs of Tahiti (and led white men to style him the "King," which he was not) are too intricate to warrant explanation here. They are best set forth in the late A'rii Taimai's *Memoirs*²; and are sketched more or less

¹ Cf. also Forster, quoted *ante*, p. xxxiii.

² Bibl. no. 8.

inexactly in the "Preliminary Discourse" and Appendix to the *Duff's voyage*¹, in Ellis the missionary's *Polynesian Researches*², and in Turnbull's *Voyage*³, which are all more accessible volumes. The journals of the Spanish officers and the *padres'* diary throw little additional light on Tu's character or political career, owing chiefly to the comparatively early date at which they knew him. But one gains a closer acquaintance with this Chief, and also with Vehiatua, from the narrative of the Interpreter-marine, Máximo Rodríguez, who lived on terms of intimate good-fellowship with them both, and wrote his notes day by day with the simplicity and artlessness natural to a youth of his humble birth and position, and without thought of their ever being committed to print.

Less generally known than Tu's character, however, are his lineage and relationship with Vehiatua; and, since the Spaniards' journals bear so much on their intercourse with these Chiefs, some particulars of their family affairs seem admissible at this point.

The following narration and genealogies, constructed and tabulated mainly from data recorded by the late Te Vahine Arii Taimai, to whose daughter the ex-Queen Consort I am indebted for permission to use them, may afford the reader a clearer *coup d'œil* of these affinities:—

In the sixteenth, and perhaps a part of the seventeenth century, Tu's ancestors were obscure Chiefs in Fakarava, an atoll of the Tuamotu group situated some 220 miles to the E.N.E. of Tahiti. One of these gentry reached Tahiti in a canoe—whether by accident or by design is no longer known—gaining the land by way of the Taunoa passage in Pare-Arue, where he was generously received and became the *hoa* or protégé, and afterwards son-in-law, of the

¹ Bibl. no. 96.

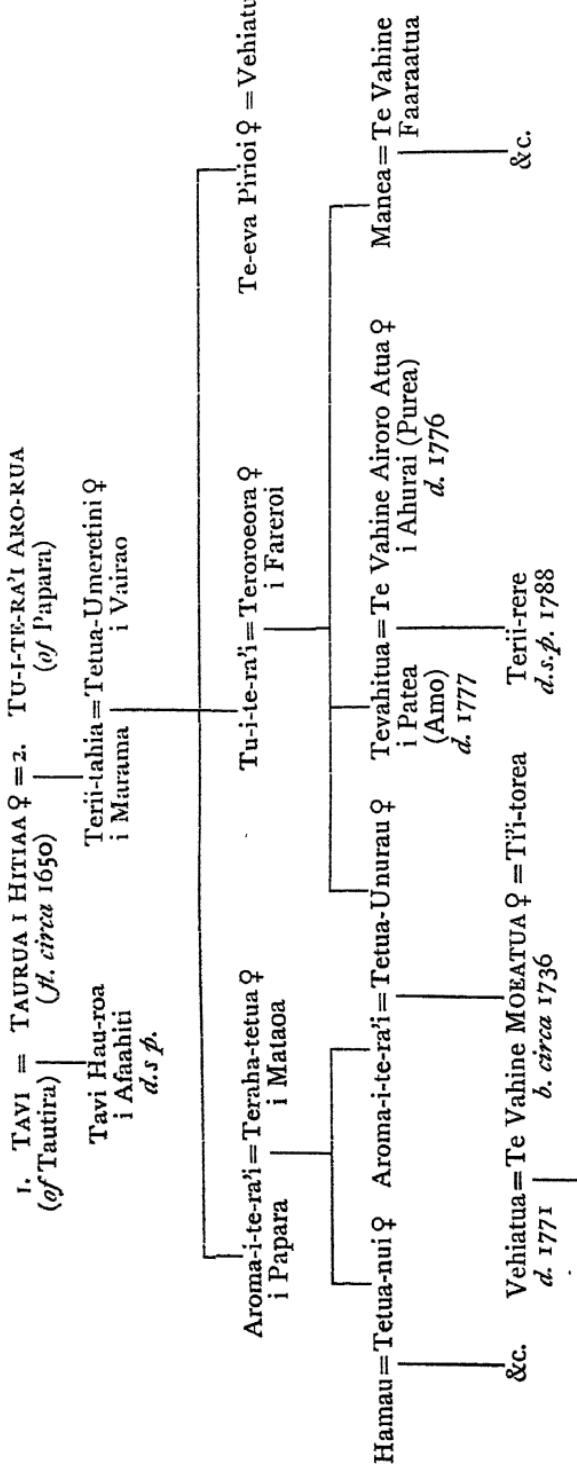
² Bibl. no. 36.

³ Bibl. no. 120 bis.

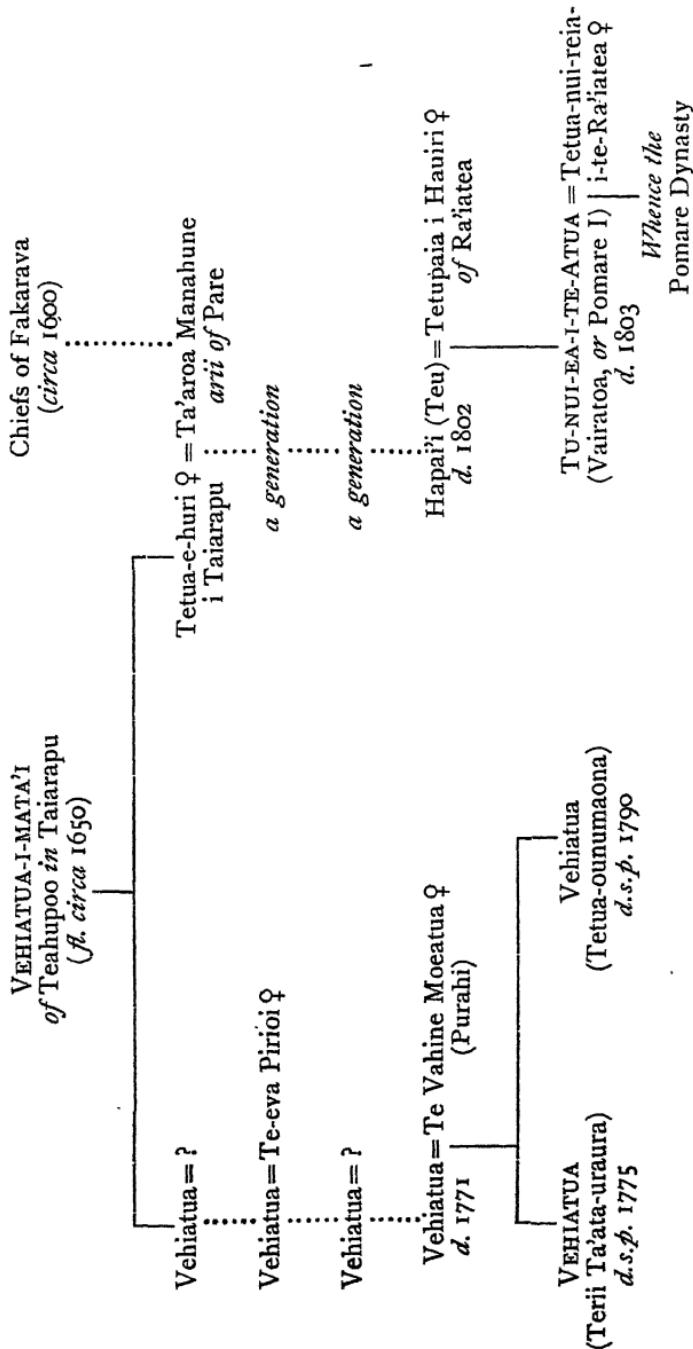
local *arii* named Mana-i-hiti, whom in due course he succeeded in office. From this marriage there descended one Ta'aroa Manahune—a strange anomaly in names—and his grandson, or more probably great grandson, was Hapai'i, later called Teu, who, about 1740-45, married a lady of Ra'iataea somewhat above him in rank, Tetupaia by name. These were the parents of Tu, the date of whose birth has been set down by Arii Taimai as 1743, but in my judgment (based on the evidence of his portrait drawn by Hodges¹, and the estimates of his age recorded by Banks, Forster, and the surgeons Ellis and Samwell) was some four or five years later than that. The cousinship between Tu and Vehiatua of the Spaniards' time arose from the marriage of the above-mentioned Ta'aroa Manahune, who was honoured by receiving for wife the lady Tetua-e-huri i Taiarapu, daughter of Vehiatua then reigning at Teahupoo in the lesser peninsula (*cf.* p. xxx); she was of more august rank than himself, and flourished about the time of transition from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century. Old Vehiatua, the husband of Purahi, was a grandson or great-grandson of Tetua-e-huri's brother, being of the same generation as Tu's father Hapai'i (Teu); and their respective sons were therefore second or third cousins, if the number of generations between Tetua-e-huri's and theirs has been correctly recorded. This relationship is accounted by natives a somewhat closer family tie than we usually claim for it.

Tu's full name or title was Tu-nui-ea-i-te-Atua, which has been aptly rendered by Lieut. de Boris as "Qui stat ingens nitens ad Deum." But until his assumption of the *maro ura*—the 'scarlet girdle' of supreme rank and dignity—he was customarily mentioned as "Tu" and is nowadays known to his descendants as "Tu Vairatoa," or "Pomare I," to distinguish him from his son Tu, who became Pomare II.

¹ Now in the Royal Naval Museum at Greenwich Hospital.



Lineage of Te Vahine MOEATUA (*Purahu*).



When that son was born, in or about 1782, the child took precedence of his father in accordance with Tahitian custom; and the latter thereafter bared his shoulders in the former's presence, as depicted in the historic painting by Robert Smirke, R.A., from which a well-known engraving was executed by Bartolozzi for the Missionary Society.

In his youth Tu was ambitious, but never valiant. As he advanced in years and experience he rendered many useful services to his people; but he gradually gave way to temptations, including those that arose from the presence of low and unscrupulous white men. His ambitions then degenerated into avarice, and the best points in his character failed to outlive the expansion of his influence and property brought about by his successful rivalry over Terii-rere (the son of Amo and Purea), his marriage with Tetua-nui-reia-i-te-Ra'iatea, and the adoption of Matavai bay as a resort for white men's ships. Tu's end was sudden. He died in a fit or some kind of seizure—perhaps angina, or the rupture of a blood-vessel, if one may judge by the scanty particulars recorded—whilst sitting in a canoe, on the 3rd of September, 1803, twelve weeks after his younger son Navahoroa (who had usurped the hegemony of Tautira in Taiarapu from the failing line of Vehiatuas), and less than ten months after his aged father Hapai'i or Teu¹.

It was my fortune to make acquaintance (in 1905) with a 'Captain' Edgar, master mariner, who came then to Fiji from Samoa; and I knew him quite well during that and the following year, down to the time of his death, which occurred at Suva from the infirmities of age. The old man had begun his career as a blue-jacket, and was wont to relate his experiences in the Crimea, where, during the

¹ Bibl. no. 36, and *Transactions of the London Missionary Society* (vol. II, 1804, p. 292).

siege of Sevastopol, he had fought shoulder to shoulder with a certain midshipman who afterwards became a distinguished Admiral of the Fleet. This was no other than the late Sir Algernon Lyons, G.C.B.; and, with a true seaman's generosity, he still wrote kindly and appreciative letters to his old shipmate of the *Albion* even fifty years later, some of which Edgar showed me. In one of the many chats I had with Edgar in the hospital at Suva, he mentioned that his grandfather Thomas had sailed with Captain Cook, and was present in H.M.S. *Discovery* when the famous navigator fell at Hawaii. He added that his mother possessed a number of charts drawn by Thomas Edgar, which he himself had often pored over in his younger days. But he was never able to call to mind any journal of his grandfather's; and, advancing cerebral disease soon afterwards rendering his speech unintelligible, while, at the same time, his right hand lost its ability to write, my efforts to secure a clue to his surviving relatives were foiled.

It was to be expected, however, that Thomas Edgar's log-book and papers had been handed in to the Admiralty when the ships returned home, in accordance with a clause in the Secret Instructions issued to Captain Cook (which are printed in the official narrative of his voyage¹)—especially in the case of the Master's log. This was in fact what happened, and the "Log of.....H.M.S. *Discovery*..... kept by Thomas Edgar, Master" is preserved intact and in good condition among the Public Records. It is a thick, heavy folio², full of interesting "Remarks" and illustrated by several plans or insets of the most notable islands and harbours visited, very neatly drawn with pen and wash by Thomas Edgar himself. One of these has the site of

¹ Bibl. no. 28, vol. I, p. xxxv.

² P.R.O.—Ships Logs, Supplementary ; Series II, no. 21.

the Spaniards' mission house and cross at Tautira, which Edgar visited and described, marked in dotted lines corresponding exactly with the situation I ascribed for it (*cf.* vol. I, p. xl ix).

Another MS. containing a transcript of the "Remarks," in three different handwritings of the period, exists in the British Museum; it is a recent acquisition¹. An excerpt from the original log is appended to the present volume as a Supplementary Paper (no. X).

The Plates and Charts.

The frontispiece of this volume is a portrait of the Viceroy Don Manuel de Amat, executed in photogravure from a lithograph of a pencil drawing made by Don Evaristo San Christóval from the oil-painting formerly in the Vice-regal palace at Lima. It was the custom for every Viceroy to give sittings for an official portrait, and the collection was preserved intact until wars and rebellion invaded the capital and imperilled its treasures. Amat's portrait was then secretly removed and kept in safe seclusion for several years; but is understood to still exist.

The view at page 124 is from a photograph I took at Tautira in 1909 from a point opposite the spot where the *Aguila* moored. It shows, in the foreground, the part of the beach where the Spaniards were accustomed to land and embark, and the mouth of the Vai-te-piha little further along where a small spit projects.

The representation of the Cook commemorative medal at p. 370 shows it one-and-a-half times the diameter of the originals. I take this opportunity to draw attention to a correction with regard to specimens of this medal, of which one, in silver, *does* exist (in the Fleming collection) at the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington².

¹ Add. MSS. 37,528.

² Cf. p. 371, foot-note.

The maps in the volume, including two in the pocket, speak for themselves. The one of El Callao and the vicinity is from the original pen and wash drawing in Indian ink, carmine, and emerald green, lodged in the British Museum¹.

The longitude, wherever quoted in these volumes, is reckoned from the meridian of Tenerife, as was usual in the Spanish navy at the period. For remarks on this subject the reader may consult Volume I, p. lxiii.

He is reminded that the sign “ $\frac{1}{4}$ ” in Spanish compass courses and bearings is equivalent to the English “by”—not $\frac{1}{4}$ —as explained in the INTRODUCTION (vol. I, p. lxiv).

The *legua marina* (sea league) is officially quoted as equal to 6646 *varas* or 3 miles: the *vara* measuring .835905 of a metre. The *milla* or nautical mile is 1108 *brazas* or Spanish fathoms: the *cable*, 120 *brazas*².

The bibliographic reference numbers relate to the list of authors and titles following the INTRODUCTION in vol. I, and its continuation next hereafter.

¹ Add. MSS. 17671 (k).

² *Dicc. Enciclop. Hispano-Americano*: 1894. Art. *Pesas y Medidas*.

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² See also nos. 35 ter and 101 in vol. I.

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DESPATCH

[from the Viceroy of Peru to the Secretary of State for the Indies¹].

No. 1068.

Most Excellent Señor,

Covering a copy of a dictionary of words in common use in the language of the natives of Otaheiti: and another containing a comprehensive catalogue of Questions on the several points the officers and missionaries who went there, at the time mentioned in the despatch referred to, were to study and assure themselves about.

In my despatch no. 1016, dated the 22nd of September, 1774, I gave an account of the expedition I had promoted, comprising two ships bound for the newly discovered Islands in the South Sea.

I accompanied my despatch by an invoice and other documents relating to goods consigned with the expedition for distribution among the Islanders, by way of presentations and gratuities.

I omitted, however, to acquaint Your Excellency with the light which has been thrown on their language by intercourse and conversation held with the two volunteers who were brought here from the Islands, and whom I ordered to be restored to their native soil by the present opportunity to the end that they might become useful in the ways foreshadowed in the despatch above cited.

¹ This despatch, with its enclosures, is here given a place in priority to no. 1016, because the latter relates only to preparations for the second expedition; whereas no. 1068, although of later date than the other, deals exclusively with matters resulting out of the first expedition. Two copies of each occur at the *Archivo*; see note at p. 5.

Believing that the particulars gained, besides being new and curious in themselves, may conduce towards the realisation of some of the exalted designs His Majesty has before him, it has seemed to me desirable to include hereunder the accompanying list. From the politician's point of view they may serve, when the dialect has been examined by experts and compared with vocabularies already printed and still being published by foreign authors who made similar voyages round the world, to establish the identity of the places visited, or to distinguish the racial affinities of their inhabitants.

I further enclose a copy of the Schedule of Questions supplied to the officers and missionaries, that they might assure themselves with clearness and accuracy on each one of the points these questions embrace. [This I did] in the hope of thereby avoiding the confusion such accounts are commonly liable to through lack of any proper conception as to what is needed, and of moment to be known before committing one's-self to projects of this importance.

I trust that both these [studies] may meet with His Majesty's approval, and afford proof of the care with which I am applying myself in his service without losing sight of any of its minutiae that occur to me.

May our Lord preserve Your Excellency many years.
Lima : 9th January, 1775.

Most Excellent Señor,

Your most humble, respectful, and faithful Servant
kisses Your Exc^r's hand,

MANUEL DE AMAT.

To the Most Exct^r S^r Bo Fr. Dⁿ Julian de Arriaga.

[*Enclosures*]

- I. Vocabulary of the dialect of Otaheti, &c.
- II. Schedule of Questions.]

Enclosure I.

A DICTIONARY

of some verbs and nouns in common use among the Inhabitants of the Islands of Otaheiti, and others newly discovered, which have been obtained through converse with the three Islanders brought from thence, after they had learned the Spanish language during all the year 1774, while they were staying in the

CITY OF THE KINGS¹, CAPITAL OF PERU,

for the furtherance of whose aims they were repatriated².

¹ Although Lima is by some said to have been named the "City of the Kings" in honour of the Magi, because it was founded, or its site was determined, on the feast of the Epiphany (1535), the concluding words of this heading point unmistakably to the King and Queen of Spain as *los Reyes* "for the furtherance of whose aims" the Tahitian boys were repatriated.

² This vocabulary, containing approximately 1225 words and expressions, is full of interest for the philologist who has a competent knowledge of the rules of Spanish orthography, the deviations from those rules common in writings of the XVIIIth century, and the Tahitian dialect of the great Maori or Polynesian language. A few archaisms occur amongst them, however, which only a student of old Tahitian will recognise. There are expressions, in several instances, which may be more properly described as 'beside the mark' than as positively incorrect, such as *aroha*, which really means sentiment or pity for the troubled or afflicted; there are others, especially of an abstract sense, from which one may divine by the natives' answers the ambiguities of some of the questions put by their Spanish interrogators. And there are just a few which defy recognition.

Although many of the words, here supplied exactly as spelt in the Spanish originals [Bibl. nos. MSS. 2 and 3], look, at first sight, as cumbersome and unpronounceable as those printed (about the period of Boenechea's explorations) in the narratives of Bougainville, Cook, and Parkinson [Bibl. nos. 19, 29, 84], the Spanish orthography is really much more in unison with the phonology of Tahitian vocables than either the French or the English system was in those days. So that, allowance being made for certain peculiarities of Spanish pronunciation, in regard especially to the consonants *g*, *j*, the syllables *gua*, *guai*, the letter *y* (which is always replaced in modern Tahitian by *i*), and the confusion of utterance between *v* and *b*, and *ll* and *y*, so commonly met with in Spain and South America—allowance being made, I say, for these divergences from the Tahitian orthographic system (which is of course a product of later times)—no great difficulty clouds the recognition of most of the words recorded in this vocabulary.

The grave accent, now obsolete in Spanish, was employed by the compilers of the vocabulary sometimes to denote emphasis, as in *guadra* (=faa-ora), but in some instances as a mark of quantity, where

a double vowel is etymologically correct, as in *upō* (=*upoo*) and *mūmū* (=*muhumuhu*). Many of the words given as one are really compounded of two, or three, as *guatupuletiare*, for ‘to blossom,’ which obviously stands for *haatupu* (or *faa-tupu*) *te tiare*—‘to make grow the flower.’ So also *tatahoroino* for ‘avarice,’= *taata horoa ino*, literally ‘a mean giver.’

The Spaniards fell into the error, common to all the early visitors to Tahiti except the Forsters, of tacking on to the noun the auxiliary verb *e*—often miscalled an article—as if this were its initial letter. Thus *namu*, a mosquito, was written down *enamu* by them, and was doubtless the answer given by a native to the enquiry “What do you call that?” The object pointed to being a mosquito the native would naturally reply “*E namu*”—‘it is a *namu*.’ Some of these matters have been touched upon in the Introduction, vol. I, p. lxviii *q.v.*

The Tahitian alphabet, as devised by the European missionaries who resolved the language into writing, and adopted by their successors, comprises only the following letters,

a e i o u. f h m n p r t v.

There used to be a *b* sound, but it has mostly given way to *p* and *v*. Even now it is often very difficult to feel sure that *v* is not pronounced as *u* or as an English *w*; while, in some words, *f* can scarcely be distinguished from *h*, by European ears. The old name of Tautira was as often written *Fatutira* by the Spaniards as with an initial aspirate—in Spanish, *J*; and this circumstance was *not always* due to confusion between those letters in copying, which might easily occur.

Many examples of rendering one part of speech by another occur in this vocabulary, as is apt to be the case in any essay in Polynesian speech. The Spaniards do not seem to have apprehended the quality of such peculiarities as the causative prefix *faa* or *haa*, the very useful suffix *raa*, or the idiomatic employment of the noun *mea*. But as they have left no comment on their vocabulary, nor on the structure of the language, and had really very little time in which to study it, we must not be over critical; nor ought we, perhaps, to expect to find naval officers of the period posing as experts in grammar analysis.

The authorship of the vocabulary is not stated in the journals; but it is clear that the aptest of the party in colloquial Tahitian was Máximo Rodríguez, the young private of marines whom the Viceroy designated as “Soldier-interpreter” with the expedition of 1774-5. This youth had been to Easter Island in 1770, while serving in the *San Lorenzo*, and was in the *Aguila* during all her visits to Tahiti. He tells us in a petition covering a copy of his diary which was transmitted to the King (in 1788) that he had prepared a Hispano-Tahitian vocabulary, but that it had got lost: it would seem, however, that he executed that useful piece of work during the time he was residing in the island with the friars, between the frigate’s second and third voyages, whereas the vocabulary here printed was submitted to the Viceroy after the first voyage, at some time before she sailed on the second. The only other member of either expedition who is anywhere named as having prepared a Tahitian vocabulary is sub-lieutenant Don Juan Ruiz de Apodaca, whose biographer states [Bibl. no. 42 ter] that he applied himself to the study of the native language with such effect that he succeeded in preparing a small vocabulary of it, in writing. See also vol. I, Introduction, pp. lvii and lviii. This officer joined the *Aguila* only on her second voyage, however, in 1774;

A.			
Above	Iniajo	all	maaitai
to absent one's- self	teiteara	alms	matamao
— accompany	e fajoa	aloft	i nia
— be in ac- cord with	arapoina	to amend	memaitay
— accuse	efaai	anchor	tutau
achira or yam	etaro	angle or corner (esquina)	etara
to add	erurù	— — (rincón)	epejo
— adorn or beautify	memaitai	angry	eriri
afar off	jenuaroa	to anoint	parai
afflicted or trou- bled	earoja	annoyed [see ' vexed ']	
to be afraid	jamà	another time [see ' again ']	
through shame	guatapetera	to answer (res- ponder)	
afternoon	faàguaàgua	ant	tuoro
again	rugirugia	apophthegm	erò
aged	turutoto	to appease	emay
—, very	epoà	— approach	guafate
air or mien	matay	or join	tapiri
— or wind	maà	arm of the body	erima
aliment or sub- sistence		—, fire-	e pupuji
		to arrest [take prisoner]	rurugia

and is barely mentioned in his commander's journal, and then not in connection with any vocabulary or study of the native language or institutions. In view of these facts, and of the Viceroy's original instructions to Boenechea and to the *padres* Amich and Bonamo, it appears probable that this vocabulary represents the work of the officers, *padres*, and men of the frigate generally, but especially of Máximo Rodríguez, and Don Juan de Hervé, the Master; and that it was compiled partly while at Tahiti in 1772, partly during the return voyage to El Callao, with the help of the four natives conveyed on board, and partly during the sojourn of the two surviving ones *Pautu* and *Tetuanui* in the Viceregal palace at Lima in 1773-4.

Of the vocabulary itself, together with the despatch no. 1068 under which it forms one of the enclosures, two copies exist in the *Archivo General de Indias*. The penmanship is clear in both copies, though they are not written by the same hand. There are very few discrepancies between them: those that occur are merely such as might be expected in the writing of two scribes who had been schooled or brought up in different provinces of Spain or South America, and they even serve a useful purpose in verifying each other. The duplicates have been twice laboriously collated, and the printed proofs have been checked by the transcript made by myself in the *Archivo* from the documents themselves. These latter are contained in *Est. 112—Caj. 4—Leg. 11* and *Est. 110—Caj. 3—Leg. 16* respectively.

In the originals the Spanish words stand arranged in alphabetical order. Their sequence was necessarily disturbed during the translation, and has been re-determined in accordance with their English equivalents, for convenience of reference.

arrogant, to wax	tatatoa	below (<i>abujo</i>)	iraro
ashamed, to be	jamà	beneath (<i>débajo</i>)	iraro
asleep, to fall	eturugemoe	bent [twisted]	tuapù
to ask for	eani	be off! (<i>afuera!</i>)	e jaere
— attach	erurù	— (<i>anda vete!</i>)	e jare
aunt	metuagine	to besmoke	e aguagi
avarice [cove-	tatajoroaino	— besmut	parai
tousness]	etiai	besotted [<i>see 'be-</i>	
await	guara	fuddled' and	
to awaken	teiteara	'inebriated']	
away, to go or	e ivi	betimes	poipoi
keep		betrayer	taparajuna
axe or hatchet		a beverage there	
		is	e aba
		bid, to make a	fanoma
B.		bigness [size]	mearagi
the back	etua	bilboes	etete
— — of the head		bird	emanumanu
[<i>see 'head'</i>]		birds, to catch	e tiamanu
backbone	tuamo	birth, one who	
backwards	imuri	has lately	
badness	aijuna	given	
bag [<i>'see wallet'</i>]	e upopajure	a bite	titoji
bald-headed	tutau	to bite	ajugia
ballast of ships	eoje	bitter because	aati
bamboo	guabaugia	not ripe	abaaba
bare, denuded	e iri	black colour	erere
bark, of trees	àða	the bladder	opupu
to bark, as a dog	ejò	to blandish or	
— barter	e àù	fondle	taguaji
— bathe		— blaze up with	
— do battle or	e tamay	fire	etoretore
fight	arapoina	— bleach [whiten]	jateatea
— bear in mind	e umiumi	blind, to become	matapo
beard		a blister	e tuavera
to beat a path	eanui	blood	e toto
or track	maitayè	to blossom	guatuputetiare
a beau (<i>gulan</i>)	maitaye	blows, to deal	epaipai, pauru
beautiful	iyajautù	blue-eyed	purepure
because	e roy	a boar	e oni
bed	titiaro	a board	e raau
before		to boast	eoò
befuddled' [<i>with</i>	etaeoo	the body	eyra
<i>awa</i>]	e ani	bold (<i>atrevido</i>)	etoa
to beg or ask for	etature	bone	eivi
— beget	matamua	to bore or drill	ejui
— begin (<i>prin-</i>	oyoy	— or worry	e veuveu
<i>ciciar</i>)	jopoy	a borer [insect]	e juju
— — (<i>empezar</i>)	e imuri	to be born	guajapu
— begrudge	mamarò	a bow for arrows	efana
(<i>embidiar</i>)	opù	boy	à yù
behind	opù	brains [meaning	
to believe		common sense]	erori
belly (<i>panza</i>)		branch of a tree	peapea
— (<i>venirre</i>)		brave (<i>valeroso</i>)	tatatoa

breadth or broad [see 'wide']				
to break	guajati		to careen	ejajau
— — asunder	motumotu		carpenter	e tajua
— — to pieces ['see shatter']			to carry	jopoy
the breast	oma		— — off [steal]	ejarunoa
to breathe	otuitui		— cast or fling	efarue
— — hard			— catch	erabe
through exer- tion			carved figure	eti
— — with de- fiance	ejopipì		cave	eana
the breech	etòa		to challenge or	matoa
brightness of features	e toje		defy	jopoi
to bring	anaana		— change	etajora
— — about or induce a thing	ejopoimai		channel	
— — out or forward (<i>sacar</i>)	faguagua		charcoal, glow- ing	matamijo
bristles of swine	epoyatu		to chase	tapapa
broad [see 'wide']	e jurujuru		— chastise, or	moemoe
brother	tuana		suffer	eparau
bruise	guári		— chatter	
buffoon	faata		chatterbox, an	
to burn or set on fire (<i>abrir ard incendiar</i>)			idle	guaraujapari
— — [glow]	uavera		cheap	eutua maitay
with fire (<i>ar- der con fuego</i>)			to cheat or de- ceive	fatianjani
— — one's-self (<i>quemarse</i>)	etoretore		the cheeks	paparia
— bury	guavera		— — blown	
the bustle of people	etanu		out	guapaju
busy	guapiri		cheerful	oaoa
butterfly	ejàa		to chew	e agaua
the buttocks	epape		chicken	fanagua
to buy	jujà		to chide	motoa
	ejò		chill, to catch a	toetoe
C.			chin	eaguae
to cackle or cluck	eoò		a chip of wood	eapaapa
— call another	etao		circuit	poroa
callosity on the hand	opupu		clamour, turmoil	ejàruru
calm [see 'lull']	e và		clatter, hubbub	eague
canoe			clay, soft earth	paruparu
capon or geld- ing	guateje		to clean	ejoroy
captain	tojoa		to clear the nos- trils	fatè
carbuncle or ab- scess	etojeroa		— — — way, or facilitate	papù
			— — up	maramaràma
			— climb or	
			clamber	maitige ainea
			cliff or large rock	ofairagi
			to close [see 'shut']	
			cloth or clothing	ezju
			cloud	eata
			cloudy, overcast	poiri
			cock	emoa
			coconut	e jaari
			coconut-oil	monoy
			coitus	e tatue

to comb	pagerè	to cure, or min-
— come	aremay	ister to
— comfort or		eparai
console	efana	erourupipi
— command	aremeimeí	evaitafe
— compel	eja agua agua	tipi
— complain or lament	evajapari	
— complete or conclude	ua pau	D.
— compress	erurù	
— conceal the truth	e jutiutiupo	dainty with food
conch	epú	to dance (<i>bailar</i>)
to console [see 'comfort']		— — (<i>danzar</i>)
— construct	eatò	dandriff [<i>see</i> 'scurf']
— consume or expend	guaravejo	to dare or venture
contained, to be able to be	vàò	dark, darkness
contented	ðaoa	[<i>see</i> 'obscure']
to contest	tatatajoa	— in hue
cool	e toetoe	daughter
to cool down	jamariri	—, elder
— — one's-self	etoetoe	—, younger
— — water	jamariri	— -in-law
— — fish caught	jamariri	day
corner (<i>rincón</i>)	epéjo	— before yes-
corpulent	guaporía	terday
couch	eroy	daybreak
to cough	emare	to dawn
— count	etatau	deaf
courageous	tatatoa	to deal a blow
cousin	taeae	debt or fault
—, female	taeae evagine	deceitful or false
to be covered with confusion	jopuepue	to deceive or cheat
cowardly	mamaju	— deck or adorn
crab	papà	one's-self
to crack or split	erarerare	declivity
to crawl or creep	e aratò	to decorate or
crippled	e rimatio	fig out
crooked [bent]	tuapù	— deface
to cross	guaputapù	— defy [<i>see</i> 'challenge']
cruel	tatatoa	— delay or
to crumble	e juajua	loiter
— crumple or wrinkle	emiomio	— demolish
crying of an infant	oaninia	demon
cuddy of a canoe	e farebay	denuded, bare
cup, of coconut-shell, to drink from	agùa	to deny
		— deprive of a thing
		depth
		to desire
		— descend
		— destroy
		— detach
		— devastate or demolish
		tapipi
		bagijagea
		etù
		e tu irarò
		óoti
		etatará
		e jòro

dew	e jau	duck or goose	morà
to die	emate	dug, of a sow	èù
— dig	etunu	dull or stupid	tataino
dirty	guarepoa	dumb or silent	eturi
—, to get	e repoa	dung of swine	tutaepira
—, to make the water	guarepoa	dust	erepo
to disarm	ejajuru	—, to shake	jeujeu
disciple	e pipi	off	e jaa
to discover a thief	ejai	dwarf	efare
— disembarass	baare	dwelling-house,	
— disfigure	mea ino	the family	
dish	jinai		E.
disloyal or un-faithful		early	poipoi
to dismiss from the house	ejuna	ears	etaria
— dispute [see 'contest']	e tuaro	easy	eotivave
— dissimulate or conceal truth	e jutiutiupo	eatables [see 'food']	
dissolute or licentious	arioy	eater, a large	arapuanui
to disturb or annoy	tatatoa	edge of a knife	oè oè
— dive	ejopu	eel	e tuna
— divine or guess	tutupiri	to efface	e joroy
their Divinity	Teatua	egg	juero
to do or make dog	jorajora	eggs	ejuero
done, finished	e ùri	—, addled	guapè
doorway of a house	gu òti	— — [bis]	ouopè
to double or fold cloth	iriaputa	— with chick	efanagua
— doubt	tifatu	—, white of	ejaari
down, lower	maro	—, yolk of	erearea
downcast or sad	iraro	the elbow	pororima
to drain off	taia	to elbow	òtui
— drink	guatagetage	embers, glowing	toretore
drinking-cup [see 'cup']	einù	to embrace	ejapuni
drizzle	euamaguigui	anything empty or hollow	enini
drop of water	patoto	enamoured	janijani
to drown	eparemo	end	guapau
drowsiness	turuje	enjoying one's-self or happy	
drowsy	alamoemoe	to enquire	ðaoa
to dry clothing in the sun-shine		— enrich or ornament	eujui
— dry or wipe off	taguai	— ensnare or entangle	tomaitifatu
	tauray	— enter	effifi
		entire, of animals	areiroto
		entrust or lend	euarajai
		to entwine with flowers	eutua
		error, to be in	etapi
		to eructate or belch	arapoina
		— escape	euja
			guaorai

head, a cold in the	eguipiri	to incline the	taturi
—ache	tajoa	indigence or	otare
head-rest or pillow	tuarua	poverty	
headstrong or obstinate	tatamaro	to induce, or	faguagua
to heal	guaoora	effect anything	etaeoo
a heap of things	e vairatagua	inebriated	guapaju
to heap up things	e japupu	inflamed	
— hear	efano	to inform or	
heart	mafatu	carry tales	o mümü
to help	ejopoimay	— injure	pajo regure
hen	moa	innocence or	
— house	bairamoaa	without malice	manaju
henchman	teuteu	to inquire	eujui
hiccup	etui	insane, to be-	
to hide, or be in hiding	epupuni	come	neneva
high	e roa	to intone	efaatai
hill	mohua	— invite or	
hither	jomai	persuade	maay
hoarse, to grow	efao	island	efenua
hog or pig	pua	the itch	junejune
to hoist or sway up	ejopoinia	an itching	emaero
hole [perforation]	e rua		
holes, to eat, as a moth	ejuju		
hollow, anything empty or	mamaro		
— or depression	iroto		
to hollow or bore out	ejui	J.	
hot	mahanahana	jackdaw	erue rue
hub bub or noise	eague	jaw	evaja
to hum or buzz	ejio	to join company	
humble	fatupua	with	e jui, e apò
humid	erarirari	— jump	erere
hunger	porori		
husband (<i>esposo</i>)	etarabagine	K.	
— (<i>marido</i>)	etaue	to keep a thing	evejjio
		— kick (<i>cocear</i>)	etaagi
I.		— — or stamp	
idle	amaura	the foot (<i>pa-tear</i>)	etaagei
an idler or loiterer	matamau	— kill	taparafi
ill [in health]	emay	kills, one who	tataparagei-
—, to feel or be	e mai	marò	
to illumine with light	tiarama	to kindle fire	etutui
— imitate	hapitopito	king's evil (<i>lam-purones</i>)	farabati
impatient	tatatiaimano	a kiss	emiti
impostor	eavare	to kiss	ejoi
		kite, boy's	paoma
		to knead	enatu
		knee	eturi
		—, the space	
		behind the	
		to kneel	arapoaavae
		— knock a-	tutaturi
		gainst	
		knot	tuiia
		to know	e ponaa
			efaite

L.

to lack or be lacking	toetura
lad	tatajò
ladder	etea
lake (<i>lago</i>)	eroto
to lament [see 'complain']	"
large	mea ragi
— headed	euporagi
larger than another	tataragi
lass (<i>moza en edad</i>)	evaginejou
last [final]	guapaù
to last [endure]	meavi
— laugh	eata
laughter	ðàða
—, a peal of	e ovaova
to lay hold of	e rabe
laziness	eraria
leaf of a tree	eraù
to leave that alone, let be	evagiogio
to the left	augui
legs, as far as the ¹	papaaú
to lend [see 'entrust']	ejè ejè ²
leper	baijarea
level tract, a flat	arioy
licentious [dissolute]	emiti
to lick	eavare
— lie [speak untruth]	mohe
— — down	guatopa
— lift off the ground	maramarama
light [brightness]	tatavaoavo
— of foot	ejiaai
to like [food]	ðruòru
limp, or without firmness	pirioi
to limp	ejarò
to listen	vajeaaiti
little or minute	mea iti
a very little	e ora
to live	e japou
load	

loathing or bore-

dom	e veuveu
lobster	oùra
a longing [for food]	ejiaai
to look at	guaité
— loosen or cast off	tatarà
— lose the way	guaaro
louse	eutu
lover	ejanijani
low	eoni
— -spirited	taia
— —, to be	tipu
lukewarm	jamariri
a lull in the wind	emania
to take luncheon	eparujare
a lunge or stab	epiriju
a lurking or hiding place	epupuni
lustful	tata ebagine araji

M.

mad	neneva
maggot	eiro
maid (<i>doncella</i>)	'putapiri
maiden	evaginejou
maimed	ooti
to make fast	erurù
— — off with male of any species	guariri
maledictory	eoni
malicious	temaitino
a man (<i>hombre</i>)	efa agua agua
— — (<i>varon</i>)	tata
many in number	maatai
— times	maatai
a master [expert]	tajua
— — or lord	e joa
matter or pus	epirau
me or my	nou
medical attendant	erapoaimay
meek [see 'humble']	faaite
to meet	etaya
melancholy	

¹ In reference, apparently, to depth of water—wadable.² This word (*fe'if'e'e*) points to elephantiasis (Arabum), not leprosy.

to pull out	e iriti	to rest	ejaea
— — to pieces	ejajae	— return	ejoi
the pulse <i>pulso</i> ,	etaeta	reverse, or back	ejuri
a punch with the		rib	epaa
fist	emoto	right-hand side	atau
to punish	moemoe	ripe	guapara
puppy	efanagua	to rise	genuaroa [?]
a purge or pur-	taroto	— — early	tataieta
gative	tapapa	river	tajora
to pursue	eturay	roadway	eanui
— push		to roast meat	tanipa
pus [<i>see</i> ‘matter’]	tuatuyò	— rob	guariri
to put		a rock	ofae ragi
		a roof or shed	inia
		to roof the house	tajuju
Q.		roomy	otore
quick, quickly	efainene	root	èà
		rope	taura
R.		a rough or coarse	
rabid [<i>see</i> ‘raging’]		thing	e oru
to rack off oil	taviri	to row or paddle	eautua
raging	eriaria	ruddy	eeju
to rain	eùa	to ruffle the hair	pua xaja
rainbow	eanuanua	rump	piatoje
to raise up	etù	to run	erara
range of sight	jatagiogio	— — away in a	
to rasp or scrape	evauguau	fight	e mataù
rat	iore		
to rattle con-		S.	
versation	eparau	.	
— rave	emainagi	sacrifice	tapira
ravine	efaà	sad	taia
to reach up to or		to sail or navi-	
catch hold of	erabe	gate	tererete
— be reconciled		sails of a vessel	eiè
[<i>see</i> ‘accord’]		same thing	tutujaino
— recover or	guaora	sand, black	e oneereere
regain health		—, white	e oneteatea
— — or regain		sash	tatua
possession	erave	satiated with food	upaia
red	mea uraura	to say	tatajaguagua
reefs	eau or etoa	a scale [of fish]	epoa
to refresh or cool		scarcity [of	
one’s-self	toetoe	crops]	e utuaino
to reject	efarue	to scold another	motoa
a relative	tata èàèa	— scour or rub	
to relish	ejiaai	clean	ejoroy
— remain	etiyay	— scrape [<i>see</i>	
a remedy	erapuamai	‘rasp’]	
to remember or		— — or scratch	
remind	guarà	the ground	ejeru
— repent	earoja	— scratch	raurau
— repose	emoe	scrotum	erijua
— request	e ani	scurf	e iri
— respond	tuoro	sea-beach	tuatagi

sea foam	ujauja	to slacken or
a seat	e papa	untie
to seat one's-self [see 'sit down']		guatujia
second	ejupea	pauru
secret	omumu	
to see	guate	tataparageimaro
— seek	maimi	moe
— sell	poyeho	moe
— send	jopoi	
— — off in a hurry	eojoy	epaia
— separate from	ejopoy	emaà
seriousness	fatoatoa	
servant	teuteu	ejere
— who has care of children	teuteu	bajiteitei
shade or shadow	marumaru	mea iti
to shake dust off [see 'dust']		
shame	tama	noa noa
shameless	etupuru	
to shatter	otioti	papagia
— shave	evaù	e aguagi
sheath	òomo	paia
shellfish	eio	papù
shelter, to take	e tapoi	ò oro
shin-bone	e iviavae	aguae
ship	epagi	guarari
to shoot an arrow	guapè	efarufaru
shoulder	etapono	matainà
to shout	tuoro	javarevare
shower of rain	e ua	moemoe
shrimp	òura	atagiguau
to shut	òpane	maata
side (<i>costado</i>)	apaapa	temaiti
— (<i>lado</i>)	apapa	ejunoa
to sigh	ejaaea	eabaaba
sight, within	jatagiogio	
silence	mamù	
silent, to keep, about a thing	mamù	ejaremaire
simple (Sp. <i>sim-</i> <i>ple</i>)	mamàhu	otore
to sing	epeje	epao
— singe	einaina	
single-minded [see 'simple']		euajapari
sister	tuagine	
to sit down	enojo	mageae
skin	eiri	puaverevere
sky	e ray	guatagetage
slack, any thing not tight	òru òru	eivi
— at work	jaumani	
		pereo
		etuja
		guarari

to spread out	taurai	to suffer	emairagi
a spring of water	epija	sugar-cane	etò
to sprinkle	pipi	summit	mouateitei
— sprout [germinate]	guatupujajo	sun	majana
— — by suckers	guatipu	surgeon or medical attendant	e tajua
squalor or poverty	otare	to suspect	guatea
to stab	epirijau	— sustain or	
stain [<i>see</i> 'spot']		hold up	e turu
to stand still	e tù	swaddling-clothes	pahì
— start [proceed]	jaere	to swallow	punena
— stay [remain]	etiy	— swamp [of a canoe]	e mama
— steal	guariro	— sway aloft	
a step [pace]	atagirà	[<i>see</i> 'hoist']	
— — or rung of a ladder	erue	sweat or to sweat	ejou
step-son	temaitijò	sweepings or re-fuse	vairarepo
a stick	eraau	sweet	momona
stiff, of a limb	erimatiu	to swell or bulge	guapaju
stilts, to walk on	tuto	a swelling or	
stinking, anything		tumour	guapaju
stone	neoneo	to swim	e au
— , a blow with a	jamù	a swing	etarere
— fence or enclosure	taorà	swooning or dizziness	o aninia
stones, to throw, or pelt with			
stool or bench	e patu		
— , to go to			
to stop			T.
storm at sea		tail of an animal	
stout [of body]		(cola)	earero ¹
a stranger		— — a pig (rabo)	arero ¹
to strengthen		tailor	tuiè
— stretch [<i>see</i> 'extend']		to take	erabe
— strike against	tuiia	— — anything away	guairitigia
— strip [undress]	etatarra	— — back, or over again	erave
stripe [pattern]	eruapoguajo	— — with fish-hook	ejuti
to stroll	jajaere	take this!	erabemai
— stumble	tuhia	to talk [<i>see</i> 'speak']	
stupid, dull	tatapiatà	a talker	guarau epapari
stye on the eyelid	mata iritonà	to tap (<i>tocar</i>)	tupaipai
successor	erijoau	— tarry (<i>tar-darse</i>) ²
to succour or protect	fatia	— — (<i>quedarse</i>)	
— suck	emiti	[<i>see</i> 'stay']	
— suckle or give suck	faiteù	— — (<i>pararse</i>)	
		[<i>see</i> 'stop']	

¹ *Arero* means 'tongue': 'tail' is *aero*.² Blank in both copies.

tartar of teeth	e para niho	tree out of which
to taste or try	tamata	they make
tears	eroimata	their cloth in
teat [<i>see</i> 'dug']		the said island
teeth, the whole		òrà
set of	guapuni	e eugueu
tempest	evero	guatia
tenesmus	e tagetage	
testis of a boar	ejua	to try, test, or
thicket	aygere	prove (<i>tentar</i>)
thickness	epiri	— — to advance
thief	guariro	erapo mayta
thin, to wax (<i>del-</i>	eocoi	tumour [<i>see</i>
<i>gazar</i>)		'swelling']
— — (<i>adelgu-</i>	e rauràu	turbid, to make
<i>sur</i>)	egui	the water [<i>see</i>
to think	matamuia	'dirty']
third	eyyo	turtle
thither	eivi	twin
thorn	taura	to twist
thread	etaparagi	tyrant
to threaten	arapoa	
throat		
to throw any ob-	eume	U.
ject		
— — stones at		ugly
[<i>see</i> 'stones']		ulcer
— — up or		umbilicus
reject	efarue	uncle
thumb	erimaragi	to uncover
thunderbolt	pajotitiri	— understand
thus it is	nareira	uneven
tickling	maeneene	unfaithful or dis-
tiller of the ship	euri	loyal
time, space of	roaroa	to unfasten or
(<i>tiempo</i>)	arè	undo
time (<i>vez</i>)	e tuo tuou	an unmarried
to 'tip the wink'	e rohirohi	man
tired, to get	naunei	to unroll
to-day	earero	— untie
tongue	maatay	upon
too, or too much	e nijo	urine
tooth	enijoragi	—, to void
—, molar	e agi	to use or do any-
torch		thing for the
to touch [<i>see</i> 'tap'	jopoitiaio	first time (<i>es-</i>
and 'handle']		<i>trenar</i>)
traitor [<i>see</i> 'be-	etaagi	efaaju
trayer']		V.
to transport or		
transfer from		valiant [<i>see</i>
one place to		'brave']
another		to vanquish
to tread or		a vapour which
trample		falls from the

¹ *Tona* also means 'yaws,' and (nowadays) 'syphilis.'

a	yelling	or		yolk of egg [<i>see</i> ‘eggs’]
howling		aoa		a youngster
yellow		erearea	tata iti	a youth [<i>see</i> ‘lad’]
yes		guatia		
yesterday		y managei		

NUMERALS.

One	Atagi	sixteen	ajuru mafene
two	arua	seventeen	ajuru mafitu
three	atoru	eighteen	ajuru mavaru
four	ajeà	nineteen	ajuru maiba
five	arima	twenty	aruatao
six	afene	twenty-one	ataitao
seven	afitu	twenty-two	aruatao
eight	avaru	twenty-three	atorutao
nine	aiva	twenty-four	ageatao
ten	ajuru	twenty-five	arimatao
eleven	ajuru matagi	twenty-six	afenetao
twelve	ajuru marua	twenty-seven	afitutao
thirteen	ajuru matoru	twenty-eight	avarutao
fourteen	ajuru magea	twenty-nine	aivatao
fifteen	ajuru marima	thirty	ajurutao

Enclosure II.

[SCHEDULE OF QUESTIONS.]

Interrogatory of questions committed to the care of the officers lately gone to the Islands of *Otaheti* in the month of September, 1774, to enable them to acquire a knowledge of their condition and affairs, and to submit a report upon them in detail.

1. To learn their origin, through enquiry of the oldest men.
2. Are there more Islands than those named ?
3. Into how many Districts is the Island divided, and what are they called ?
4. Does the *Arii* Vehiatua rule over the whole of the Isle of Amat, and over Matea¹ and Maitu²?

¹ Makatea.

² Mehetia.

5. Do the islanders of *Aura*¹ eat people?
6. What power do the priests hold, especially the *Orae*²?
7. Is it true that when they conquer any district they set up a statue or *Eti*³ in sign of possession?
8. What kind of worship do they render to *teatua*⁴, whom they regard as their God?
9. To find out whether the Demon they call *tupapau*⁵ reveals himself to them often; and whether, as is alleged, his apparitions are most frequent during the times when the moon is on the wane, and whether he does them any injury.
10. Make sure as to the truth or otherwise of the alleged apparition of the Devil in the form of a shark⁶ in the sea; and whether he helps them, as is said, to regain the shore when their canoes founder.
11. Ascertain the probable number of the population, and which sex preponderates.
12. How do the people pass their time; and what are their amusements?
13. Have they any days of festival?
14. What sacrifices do they make to their God *teatua*?
15. Are there fresh water springs⁷?

¹ *Aura* is clearly so written in the MS. '*Au'ura* (locally *Kaukura*) lies 185 miles N.E. of Tahiti, and is the Palliser Island of Cook. But it seems not unlikely that the question really related to *Anaa*, whose natives had the reputation of sometimes indulging in the propensity mentioned; and that *Aura* is a copyist's error for *Anaa*.

² Doubtless means *o tahua rahi*—the arch priest.

³ Meaning *ti'i* a carved figure.

⁴ *Te Atua*—the Deity.

⁵ *Tupapau*—a ghost, apparition, departed spirit.

⁶ Polynesian mythology teems with shark-gods.

⁷ *Puquios*—a South American provincialism of Quechuan origin.

16. What classes of craftsmen are there, besides carpenters ?
17. What distinction of dress does the *arii* adopt ?
18. How are the so-called 'priests' clothed ?
19. Which are the islands holding most commerce with that of Amat ?
20. What marriage ceremonies do they use ?
21. Does the position of *arii* devolve by heredity ?
22. What are the burial ceremonies ?
23. Who give children their names, and with what ceremonial ?
24. What are the ceremonies attending circumcision ? And at what age is this performed ?
25. Do the 'priests' hold office by heredity ; or does the *arii* appoint them ?
26. What laws have they for their Government ; and what punishments are meted out to delinquents ?
27. What ranks exist among the warrior class ?
28. What names do they give the stars—collectively and individually ?
29. What articles of diet do they make use of, and of what are they composed ?
30. Are they addicted to intoxication ; and with what do they intoxicate themselves ?
31. Are the lands held in common right, or by individual tenure ?
32. How do they extract the oil from coco-nuts ?
33. What is their method of warfare ?
34. Do they pay tribute to their *arii*; and in what kind ?

35. Is there a clan of nobility?
36. Do the people live in villages or in scattered houses?
37. What methods of fishing do they practise?
38. What castes exist among the people?
39. What personal defects have they; and are they prone to commit theft?
40. Is *el galico*¹ known?
41. Do their medicine-men employ herbs; and if so, what ones?
42. Do the children live in subordination to their parents?
43. Do they adopt evil courses at a very early age?
44. Of what do they make their pitch for paying the seams of canoes?
45. How do they hunt?
46. Are there many old men?
47. Are there many lagoons²; and do they contain fish?
48. What are the length and breadth of the Island respectively?
49. When the *arii* goes campaigning, who remains in charge at home?
50. When they go to war do they carry any party banner or standard, war-drums, conch-shells or other trumpets?

¹ By *el galico* is meant syphilis.

² *Lagunas*—which may mean either fresh water ponds or tarns, or lagoons within the sea reef.

51. Are there any giants or pygmies, and how tall are they?

52. Do they blindly obey the *arii*; and if any persons fail to, whom does he employ to administer punishment?

53. What ceremonies are observed at the death and interment of the *arii*?

54. What is the mode of installing an *arii* when he first takes office?

55. What dyes are there, and what do they prepare them from?

56. To make certain about the kinds of timber there are, its thickness, height, and solidity; by what rivers it can be easily transported to the coast; and whether there are plenty of spars fit for masts and yards for large vessels.

57. Is there any timber suitable for shipbuilding?

58. What sticks do they make use of for kindling fire with?

59. Is the island very mountainous, or does it contain many tracts of flat land?

60. What rivers bathe the island?

61. Which are the best harbours?

62. Which of our trees and shrubs most resemble those there?

63. Is there much rainfall; and are storms frequent, and at what season?

64. Which are the prevailing winds, and do the natives distinguish them by name?

65. What shell-fish, and what birds are there?

66. What insects?

67. Are there any mineral deposits?

68. What fruits are there ?
69. Are there any spice trees ?
70. What is the nature of the soil ?
71. Does the tide ebb and flow ?
72. What are the timbers out of which they make their canoes, and are they plentiful ?
73. What flowers, and what aromatic herbs are there in the island ?
74. Is there much pasture land, and at what distance from where the *Padres* are stationed ; and is it of good quality for breeding stock ?
75. Have the stock left by the Frigate multiplied ; and to what extent do the natives appreciate them ?
76. To ascertain how far the English penetrated into the island : what were the timbers they obtained there : whether they took soundings all round the island : how long they remained there : what was the name of the Indian they took with them : and the same particulars in regard to the French frigates, and the Indian whom they carried away.
77. How many foreign ships have they seen, in all ?
78. Learn how many Islanders the English killed, and whether they bore the latter any ill-will for it : and the same as regards the French : and whether either these or those left any relics [of their visits] : what they employed themselves about during the time they were at the Island : whether they took any [astronomical] observations : whether they studied the plants much : and whether they were aware of there being other islands in the near neighbourhood. Enquiry about this is to be made of the brother-in-law of Tomás, named Temaeva, and also of Tivivirau Utay.

79. How did they receive the proposal that the missionary *Padres* should remain?
80. Whether the seeds planted came up?
81. What did they like best of the things given them?
82. Did the Islanders place credence in what their countrymen Tomás and Manuel related to them [about Lima &c.]?
83. Are they docile and inclined to be industrious, or to sloth?
84. Are there many hogs and fowls?
85. What kinds of wild animals are there?
86. Whether they have any musical instrument besides the flute?
87. Find out what the 'priests' pray; and in what posture.
88. Learn whether they make use of any other weapons for fighting with than the lance, sling, and arrow.
89. How do they make their cloth wraps, and from what trees?
90. Of what material do they make the mats?
91. Ascertain whether consanguinity is a bar to marriage.
92. At what times in the day do they take their meals, and how many of them?
93. Are they much given to the vice of women?
94. What kinds of dances have they?
95. Ascertain whether they offer any prayer to *Teatua* when they are ill or see themselves in any danger.

96. Is it certain that they renounce their wives whenever they choose: or that the *arii*'s permission is required for so doing?

97. What kinds of produce grow and fructify of their own accord, and which are those that demand cultivation?

98. What kinds of games do they play among themselves¹?

100. Might it be easy to concentrate them into a town?

MINUTE

[from the Secretary of State for the Indies to the Viceroy of Peru].

The activity with which Your Excellency is promoting the settlement of a colony in the Otaeytian Islands, and the further despatch of vessels and materials provided as shewn in your communication no. 1016², meet with His Majesty's satisfaction; the memorandum transmitted under no. 1068, together with the vocabulary of the language of those natives, has also been received.

May God, &c. San Ildefonso: 27th July, 1775.

JULIAN DE ARRIAGA.

To S^{or} D^a Manuel de Amat.

¹ No. 99 is wanting in both copies.

² See p. 1, note, and p. 92.

VOYAGE
TO THE ISLAND OF OTAYTY

PERFORMED BY
DON DOMINGO BONECHEA,
CAPTAIN IN THE ROYAL NAVY,
COMMANDING THE FRIGATE OF WAR NAMED
LA AGUILA,

BY ORDER OF THE MOST EXCELLENT THE LORD
VICEROY OF PERU
DON MANUEL DE AMAT:

26th September 1772.

[The Journal of Ensign Dⁿ Raimundo Bonacorsi¹.]

¹ This is a journal kept by Don Raimundo Bonacorsi, who held the rank of *Alferez de Fragata*—ensign or junior sub-lieutenant—in the *Aguila*. It is translated from the official copy preserved in the *Depósito Hidrográfico* at Madrid [d. 1°, *Parte segunda*]—the only text of which I have knowledge. It bears no signature, but the evidence of its authorship is clear and definite, resting on a passage at p. 43 where a statement occurs in the first person singular which, on a comparison being made with Boenechea's Journal at p. 298 of vol. I, is found to indicate Don Raimundo Bonacorsi. As a literary composition it is crude; being generally abrupt and disjointed in style and in places so faulty in grammar as to merit the stigma of illiteracy. As a piece of penmanship it exhibits many errors and omissions due, apparently, to gross carelessness; but a little special study of the MS. has sufficed to remove doubts and clear up the meaning intended, in almost every instance of defect.

JOURNAL.

WE sailed from the Port of El Callao (as Your Lordship is aware) on the 26th of September of the past year, 1772, at half past two in the afternoon, with a favourable breeze from the south'ard ; so that by nine o'clock at night we had covered ten leagues, the distance prescribed beyond which was to be opened and read in the presence of the assembled officers a packet the Comandante had in his keeping, wherein were contained the Instructions for the voyage we were about to set out upon.

His Lordship the Viceroy's Orders and directions in accordance with the Command he held from His Majesty were read before all the officers of the ship's complement, together with the Master, don Juan Herve, and the Paymaster : and on the morrow the whole of the Instructions.

The chief points they comprised were twain :—the one, to verify the existence of an island in latitude South $72^{\circ} 28' 25''$ ¹ and in the longitude (though this is not certain) of 10 hours 7 minutes from the meridian of Paris, which the English say they have named after King George, and the natives who inhabit it call *Otaheite* ; and, in the event of finding the same, to make a minute examination of it:—the other, to explore in even greater detail the Isle of *San Carlos*, with a view to determine the best spot at which to form a small settlement for gaining the favour and good-will of its natives by means of various commodities which

¹ This must be the error of a careless scribe : the position quoted by the Viceroy in the Instructions is lat. $17^{\circ} 28' 55''$, and is correct, to a matter of seconds, for Matavai (Point Venus). Cf. vol. I, p. 264, Art. 3 and footnote.

were accordingly shipped for the purpose of making presents to them, and above all for inducing them to open up a trade with Spaniards and to embrace the Catholic religion. With this object we had two *padres* on board, familiar with the several dialects of the Indians of Peru and other tribes, whose opinions were to be consulted throughout the Commission in matters relating to this uncivilised island, and, no less, in making every endeavour to get three or four of the Indians to join us. In this our attention was called to the example of the English and other nations who had followed this plan at other little islands, with the good fortune of having even secured one who seemed to be eminent among all his countrymen, and whom they described as one of their priests¹.

The Instructions left it to the judgment of the Council to decide which mission they should proceed with first; and also whether they should pass on from one to the other consecutively, or put in at Valparaiso after the first, in order to replenish their provisions, and then start afresh to execute the other. We were enjoined to use the greatest care in everything and, if possible, not to expose even a rope-yarn of the Frigate to any risk.

It was determined by an unanimous vote to go first to the isle of *Otaheite*, for many reasons which pointed to that alternative, and we thereupon put the ship on her course thither, steering W.S.W. in order to run down the longitude as quickly as possible and augment our latitude a trifle at the same time. The winds favoured us, for they blew with moderate force from 20 and some from 10. Fine days were not wanting; there were others when a head swell caused us to pitch a great deal, but of complete calm or contrary wind we had none until

¹ This points to Tupaia, the erudite Tahitian *tahua* who embarked with Capt. Cook in H.M.S. *Endeavour*, and most unfortunately died at Batavia.

we reached the latitude of $17^{\circ} 30'$ and long. 256° from the meridian of Tenerife, when we began to experience showers, thunder-storms and lightning, with variable winds though always light ones.

In this locality we also met with some mishaps caused rather through the wear and tear of years than by any accidents of the sea; for, on the 29th of September, with a moderate breeze, the mizen-topmast gave a crack and was seen to be sprung.

On the 26th of October, too, the main-topsail yard was found to be full of dry-rot in the quarters, and sprung at the slings.

The first was made good by a lashing of strong hoop-iron, put on spiral-fashion, and well fished; the second was secured by fishing the spar, with a good woolding over all.

On the 4th of October, also, it was noticed that one limb of the starboard knee supporting the trestle-trees of the main-mast was started, so that it gaped a matter of $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 fingers' breadths outwards; and that owing to the strain thus thrown on the mast-cheek, the latter was split from top to bottom; while, at the same time, the main-stay was found to have worked somewhat loose. All this was set to rights with lashings and stoppers.

We had been seeing some sea-fowl as we went along ever since we started, and these became more numerous and diverse in kind the farther we ran down our longitude; so that we observed the greatest care in our navigation by day, and especially by night.

But all our watchfulness did not prevent us from discovering, at daybreak on the 28th of October,

Isle of *San Simón y Judas* (Tauere).
and already *astern* of us, a very flat palm-covered islet, which we must perforce have passed very close to in the course of the night. We made every endeavour to come up with it, but did not succeed until the third day; when,

having seen it to be inhabited, because of some big smokes they made, we got the boat into the water and she went away to reconnoitre the island with Lieut. Don Thomas Gayangos (and thenceforward every time the boat made a trip we went in her by turns) and her crew with their arms and other usual precautions. They examined the greater part of it, but found no spot where they could land, as the island is fringed all round with a reef of rocks on which the sea breaks heavily, making it impossible to get close in without involving great risk to the boat and crew. As only a small portion remained for examination towards the N.E., where there was most swell, and which could be very well seen from the Frigate herself, the Comandante ordered the boat to be recalled. She took soundings several times in various places, but always found very deep water right up to the shore, which was of coarse rocks.

From 26 to 20 Indians followed along the beach abreast of our boat, as well as on the reef and even in the water : it was observed that they were all pretty brown in colour, and there were two or three among them of more than ordinary stature. All were naked except for a whitey-grey breech-clout with which they had their parts covered. Their hair was bristly and cut short at the neck, and in their hands they carried a long white club with a knob at one end; while, besides this long one, some of them held in the other hand another shorter one, about a *vara* in length, of some dark coloured or black wood. They set up a great yelling and made various signs by which we understood quite well that they meant defiance, and that they had no fear (though we could not be sure of this). They had neither women nor old men among them.

The entire island consists of a strip of low-lying land surrounding a lagoon within it which covers more surface than the whole of the land does ; and on this we saw

two canoes, one of them with two Indians and the other with six. The land is clothed all over with greenery, mostly scrub, and in parts there are some trees with medium-sized trunks and spreading branches. Coco-nut palms are the most numerous, and one may suppose that they get their breech-clouts from these, as well as the chief part of their sustenance; supplemented only by fish, of which there should be good store in the lagoon. The land is so low and flat that, when a short distance off, only the palms are to be seen, and these look as if growing out of the sea. By their antics, yells, and wonderment, one may believe that they have never seen any ship before.

No harbour was made out at any part of the island. It is situated, according to our observations and reckoning, in lat. $17^{\circ} 20'$ S. and long. $240^{\circ} 28'$ from the meridian of Tenerife¹. Our compass showed $8^{\circ} 21'$ of Variation N.Ely. It extends approximately three miles N. and S. and four E. and W.: in circumference ten miles. It is 1145 leagues distant from the Port of El Callao. The name of *San Simón y Judas* was given to it. Its examination being completed and a plan drawn of it as well as could be done from bearings, we delayed no longer, since this was not the island contemplated in our commission; and we pursued our course with the wind aft, moderate, from the E. and E.S.E.

On the morning of the 31st of
Isle of *San Quintín* (Haraiki). the same month of October we dis-
covered another island, which, from
a distance, appeared like only a palm clump of the same
kind as the former one; and, as the wind was fresh and
fair, it gave us an opportunity of coasting almost all round

¹ In the MS. the long. is given as $24^{\circ} 28'$: this is obviously a clerical slip. Boenechea's journal quotes it $240^{\circ} 28'$, which is $5^{\circ} 19'$ in actual error. The island was *Tauere*, renamed "Resolution Isd." by Cook nearly ten months later.

it in the Frigate, under short canvas and at a very little distance off, to reconnoitre for an anchorage while taking bearings as its extremities and outline came into view. It is low-lying land like the other ; and covered all over with brushwood, small trees and palms. It has a large lagoon within, occupying its centre, oval in outline like its circumference : we saw a canoe upon it towards the N.W. side. The natives made big smokes, and about 12 or 14 Indians were seen, apparently of the same type as those of the other isle of *San Simón*, with their long pikes in their hands, breech-clouts, and one amongst them who looked like a woman leading a small child by the hand. They made signs to us as if desirous that we should land, which we did not attempt to do, because it was clearly impossible, owing to the beach being everywhere beset with reefs and rocks on which there was a heavy breaking sea, and over which the water enters and leaves the lagoon—from which I conclude there is no channel into it. There are but few inhabitants in all the island. Those we saw appeared to be peaceably disposed, for of the small number who followed along the beach after the Frigate all were not armed with spears or long pikes; and their having women and children with them, and making signs for us to go in to where they were, makes one think this.

It is situated, according to us, in lat. $17^{\circ} 25'$ S. and long. $238^{\circ} 40'$. Our compass showed $8^{\circ} 20'$ of Variation N.E.^{ly} as before. It extends six and a half miles S.E. and N.W., and three and a half N.E. and S.W., with a circumference of sixteen miles. It bears E. and W. 3° S^{ly} with the other island of *San Simón y Judas*, distant 37 leagues, and from El Callao 1182¹. It was given the name of *San Quintín*.

¹ Boenechea quotes its latitude as $17^{\circ} 30'$, and the distance from *Tauere* 34 leagues. Both writers would be nearly correct if they were referring to opposite extremes of the atoll, but this was not so, because both quote the same longitude. The discrepancies in Bonacorsi's account may be due to careless transcription. Cf. vol. I, p. 288 and note.

We pursued our course for our destination without more delay than was necessary, attended by favourable winds from E.N.E. to E.S.E., and aiming to keep in the same latitude of $17^{\circ} 30'$. In the near neighbourhood of these islands and the intervals between them we experienced a few calms of short duration, and many rain squalls with thunder and lightning, but without any increase of force or baffling changes in the wind.

Island of *Todos Santos*
(Anaa).

In the forenoon of the 9th of October¹ we discovered another island of the same kind as the others, though larger. We came near to it later and the boat went away to examine the E. and E.N.E. part of it, but found no place where a landing was practicable. She stayed but a few hours, however, as she was recalled from on board to bear a hand in towing the Frigate round the S.E. point of a bight in which she had got embayed very close in to the shore, through the wind having died down almost to a calm. We succeeded in working her clear of the land and the boat afterwards went in again to coast along and explore the S. and S.W. sides as far as to the N.W., taking soundings and noting down its points, bays, and lagoons, while we followed her at a moderate distance, N.W. But she neither found any appearance of bottom nor any place where the Frigate might let go an anchor: nor were they able to approach the beach anywhere without boat and crew becoming exposed to great risk (which our business did not warrant). Seeing then that the shore line from the N.W. round towards the N. was even more exposed and that the surf was breaking much more heavily along it, and that it was moreover begirt with reefs without a span's

¹ The 3rd of November was the true date: cf Boenechea's account, vol. I, p. 288-9. It is easy to misread the figure 3 for 9 in Spanish script.

length of sandy beach anywhere¹, the boat was signalled to come away.

Some 20 Indians of all ages and sexes were counted on the beach in the forenoon, whose build, clothing and weapons were the same as those of the other islands: there are some pretty blonde in hue, others of a tawny colour with frizzly hair, and others again with purely Indian features and the hair lank. The women were draped from the waist to their knees with the same material as the men's breech-clouts; and figured² with blue on the shoulders, the entire buttocks, trunk, arms, and legs, in various patterns and stripes. In the afternoon also a great many collected when the boat approached, and as fast as she drew ahead some of them dropped behind, while fresh ones came out from their villages to replace them. Two of them were wearing strings of shells round their necks, and a woman was seen fishing in the lagoon with her net.

This island is larger than the others, but it, too, consists of very low-lying land surrounded by a reef which makes the islets that shut in the lagoon on its western side communicate with each other. These islets are also inhabited, and the whole island appears to teem with people, of whom the greater number are on the E. side. The soil is very fertile, for it is all covered with greenery and full of trees, especially coco-nut palms. Their dwellings are huts thatched with palm leaves, dotted about amidst the groves of palms. No doubt, by the signs they made, they are peaceably disposed; although these too were almost all armed with very long spears or pikes, without knobs but having very sharp points³.

¹ Had they persevered a little farther in this direction they would have found a practicable landing place at the village called *Tuuhora*, just to the eastward of the N. extreme of the island.

² See vol. I, p. 289, note 1.

³ See vol. I, p. 287, note 1, and p. 289, note 2.

Some Indians of Peru whom we had amongst the crew tried to speak with them, but neither understood them nor were understood by them.

This island is situated in lat. $17^{\circ} 55'$ S. and long. $236^{\circ} 55'$. Our compass showed $8^{\circ} 15'$ of variation Nly. It extends twenty miles S.E. and N.W., and nine S.W. and N.E. Its circumference may be forty-nine miles; and it bears E. and W. $17^{\circ} 30'$ Southerly with that of *San Quintin*, distant 32 leagues, and from El Callao 1214. It was allotted the name of *Todos Santos*¹.

As we had no further suspicion or doubt whatever as to this not being the island to which we were bound, nor as to there being no settlement either in it or in those we had passed, nor any communication with any other nation or ship, except their own canoes, we proceeded on our voyage towards the W.....² at others moderate, from the E. and E.N.E., with some smart showers, lying to at night so soon as we had covered the distance to the horizon visible before darkness closed in, as a precaution in case of any further unknown land lying in our track.

In fact on the morning of the Peak of *San Cristóbal* (Mehetia). 16th³ of November at ten o'clock we

sighted high land in the W.S.W. and made every endeavour to get near to it while daylight lasted. Seeing, as we approached, that it was no more than a high peak, the Comandante decided to reconnoitre it that same afternoon; and, being a moderate distance off by four o'clock, the boat went away to examine it, with the same precautions as usual (notwithstanding it was thought to be uninhabited).

While the boat was still a good way off we saw a number of people on the N.E. side clothed in white, and

¹ Cf. vol. I, p. 291, footnote.

² Some words, perhaps a line, are here wanting in the ms.

³ Should be the 6th, *teste* Boenechea. A faulty scribe again.

two canoes with two nude Indians in each. One of these came towards us and presently.....¹ to suit her. She arrived in fact at a quarter after five, with her two Indians, who brought coco-nuts, which they at once handed up [the side] and gave in exchange for some trifle. What they asked for was in their language *Curi*, which we afterwards understood to be their name for nails or any other bits of iron². They would not come on board, nor accept anything after they had got through all their stock of coco-nuts for barter, in spite of our pressing invitations and coaxing; and as it was now late they took themselves off, making signs to us that they would return at sunrise.

The two Indians, though somewhat timorous, nevertheless showed themselves very affable, vivacious and intelligent. In appearance they are well favoured, of good stature, fairly light in hue, being merely browned by the sun, and somewhat tawny about their features and hair, which is crinkly and sticks up in an even mass all over. They had only breech-clouts on, the buttocks and hands being figured with a pigment between lead-colour and blue; and they were without weapons of any kind.

The boat went on with her exploration round the island, and brought up with the grapnel at a spot on the W. side, between two rocks, where some of our people landed; but the warp having parted, and it being already late, they withdrew.

In the early morning as many as eight canoes with two or three Indians in each having managed to get quite close to the ship by daybreak, all bent on the same traffic as the previous afternoon's, many of them ventured on board, clambering up the side with great agility; and seeming

¹ Another defect of a few words occurs here, such as, perhaps, "we shortened sail."

² The word is nowadays *auri*: doubtless the C is a scribe's error for E, as the old lists mostly quote *uri* or *e uri*, and the Tahitian language has no C or K sound in it.

very happy, taking notice of everything, but not showing much wonder.

At half-past eight our boat returned to the shore (and with her all the canoes) for the purpose of taking soundings and ascertaining whether it might be possible to anchor with the Frigate, both for our better satisfaction and to fill some water. One party of our men landed by means of the Indians' canoes at the same spot where they had done so the afternoon before, while the other party proceeded all round the island in the boat, taking soundings, and sketching a plan of it as they went. They found, however, no anchorage, whether for the Frigate or for the boat; nor, again, any place adapted for easily watering ship.

But they saw some twenty Indians or so of all ages and sexes, who comprised apparently all that were in the island. Accompanied and guided by a large number of these our men struck inland for something like a mile along a beaten path, and beyond that they had to clamber up by holding on to the roots of trees that stuck out from rifts in the rocks. They saw two clusters of huts, one of five and the other of seven huts, constructed of palm leaves, the poles of which they are framed being very neatly fitted together. Their greatest height is $3\frac{1}{2}$ *varas*, length from 8 to 10, and width $4\frac{1}{2}$ to $5\frac{1}{2}$: they are closed in only overhead. We found the jawbone of a corpse hanging up in one hut. Their furniture and chattels consist of little baskets and mats made of palm leaves and rushes; and in some cases a small wooden stool, very skilfully carved all out of one block and having its seat concave¹. In another there was a puppy of medium size, black and tan, with ears pointed and erect. In others they came across some pens containing pigs as large and as fat as those of Perú, and farther on a stone enclosure of 20 or 25 *varas*, decorated

¹ See Plate, vol. I, p. 336.

round about with posts carved as if with characters, which the Indians would not approach; for, by the look of it, it is their burial place¹, which they hold in great respect. They keep their fire below ground², covered over with black porous stones³ which lie strewn about the entire path and a good part of the hill. The whole of this latter is verdant and pleasing to the view; but on the S.E and S.W. sides the soil is very fertile, and there the natives have their plantations of yams, plantains, coco-nut palms and other trees, some of which bear a sort of pine-cone of which they merely chew the segments at their insertion⁴, and others a fruit of the size and shape of an ordinary chirimoya, which, when cooked, is somewhat insipid but not ill tasted⁵. There are three different kinds of plantains, one of which is noteworthy for its size, for each fruit is nearly three inches in diameter and a *cuarta*⁶ in length: they eat these roasted. They make a sort of mash of these fruits with which they keep themselves sleek and lusty. Biscuits and salt pork are the only eatables of ours that they care for. In addition to the breech-clout, the men have some *ponchos* of finely made matting, and the women certain white drapery that they get from the bark of a tree after much beating out and working up. They clothe themselves with these from the waist downwards, and many of them over the whole figure.

The carpenter, also, went exploring; but did not find anything particular in the way of timbers. They do all their wood-working with their stone hatchets and adzes, after the manner of our iron ones. They were shown how

¹ *A marae.*

² The *umu* or native oven.

³ Small fragments of vesicular lava from the clatters on the declivities of the mountain-side.

⁴ Pandanus fruit.

⁵ Breadfruit.

⁶ A *cuarta* is a quarter of a *vara*—say a little more than eight English inches.

to plant and sow, and seeds of all the kinds we had on board were given to them.

Neither minerals, nor aromatic plants, nor any spice tree, were observed. They have plenty of water of good quality ; but in a very inaccessible situation.

Nor was any image of importance noticed amongst them, nor did it appear that they render worship or adoration either to any animate thing or imaginary being.

As our people were coming away an old man presented a pig to the officer, without expecting anything in exchange ; and after bestowing ample rewards or gratuities on them, our men embarked, and with them three Indians all in very happy mood, while some canoes followed after the boat. On seeing that she was being hoisted in and that we were going farther away, and already leaving them astern, two of the Indians departed : and we were only able to retain one, who came along quite unconcernedly. We heard him, and others too, several times mention "OTAHEYTE," the name of the island the Instructions directed us to investigate, at the same time pointing to the W.

It is situated in lat. $17^{\circ} 50'$ S. and long. $234^{\circ} 55'$. Our compass showed 7° of Variation N.E.^{ly}. It extends one mile and a third N. and S., E. and W. one ; circumference four and a half miles. With the island of *Todos Santos* it bears E. and W. 3° N^{ly}, distant 43 leagues ; and from El Callao 1257. The name of *Cerro de San Cristóbal* was given to this island, and the Indians call it *Omayto*¹.

Much pleased at having heard the name of the island we wished for, we continued our course at five in the afternoon of the 7th, with the wind favourable from N.E., light. At daybreak the peak was still visible though a long way off, as we had hove to during the night ; and the

¹ *O Mehetu*. Cf. Boenechea's account, vol. I, p. 297 and footnote.

Indian was up very early on the look-out, pointing with glee to the W. and repeating "OTAHEITE!" In point of fact, at half-past eight, land was sighted ahead, high and of wide extent. We made for it with all sail set; and, as by degrees we neared it, the Indian told us the names in his language of the bays and headlands as they successively came into view, by which we knew definitely that he had been there and that it was a very large and mountainous country.

The wind was light from E. for the most part, but now and again contrary with squalls and heavy showers, so that we were not able to get close enough in to lower a boat and prospect for a harbour to anchor in, and set about the exploration with the precautions imposed by our Instructions in case some other nation should have a settlement there¹. We kept standing off and on abreast of the eastern side of the island awaiting a favourable slant of wind; and on the 10th we saw big smokes towards its northernmost extreme. At nine in the morning a canoe arrived with one Indian, who came on board. He brought some plantains and coco-nuts which he gave in exchange for small knives and other trifles; and, having tried as best he could to inform us how we ought to proceed, he returned again to the shore. A little while later another canoe came off, with two Indians, with whom we held similar intercourse as with the other: both of them clambered up the side and held a great confabulation with the one we had on board from the other island of *Omayto*; and at eleven o'clock they went off.

On the morning of the 12th, having now got into a more weatherly position, it was my turn and I² started

¹ See vol. I, pp. 266, 271 &c.

² The use of the first person singular here, when compared with Boenechea's journal (vol. I, p. 298) supplies the key to Bonacorsi's authorship of this one.

away at 10 o'clock in the boat, accompanied by our Indian, to examine a part of the coastline to the westward 3 or $3\frac{1}{2}$astern of the Frigate.....¹. It was half-past one in the afternoon before we got close in, where we saw that the island is encircled by a reef of rocks from two to four cables distant from the beach. We took soundings and bearings of the points in accordance with the orders I carried ; and, observing an innumerable lot of canoes to come out through the reef, we steered for them and found a deepish channel one cable in width, and entered by it². Then, having seen that there were no more people and that the Indians were peaceably disposed and had no weapons, I³ stepped ashore with a portion of the boat's crew and marines to look round the near neighbourhood.....⁴ but very convenient for getting ballast, and wood in plenty ; and then I embarked again to proceed along to the south'ard in search of a better harbour. We sailed on inside the reef in some doubt as to whether we should find an exit, dodging about between a number of shoals and accompanied by no end of canoes.

By the confidence with which the Indians indicated to us that there was a place where the Frigate could anchor it certainly seemed that this would not be the first time they had seen one pass within the reefs where the sea was not breaking ; and on further inspection we found a passage about a cable and a half wide, and three cables distant from the shore⁵. We took a few casts of the lead inside and got bottom at 14 to 18 *varas*⁶, black sand ; and after sketching

¹ This passage is quite unintelligible. It runs as follows :—*por detrás de la Fragata de 3 à 3 y medio 12 grādos tantos de tierra.*

² O Vaionifa pass, apparently. Cf. Boenechea's journal, vol. I, p. 298.

³ Cf. note 2 on p. 43.

⁴ Part of a sentence is evidently wanting here in the MS. although there is no break in the text as written by the scribe.

⁵ O Vaiurua passage : cf. Boenechea's journal, vol. I, p. 299.

⁶ Cf. Bonacorsi's own report in Boenechea's journal. There he says 13 to 16 *brazas* (fathoms of 5 ft. 6 in.).

out something of a plan of the whole roadstead, and seeing it was already late, considering the distance the Frigate was keeping off, I headed away for her at four o'clock.

We counted as many as 30 or 40 canoes round us, and the Indians on shore numbered 400 or 500 of all ages and sexes, the whole of them in very merry mood and making a great hullabaloo. Their houses, clothing, produce, and the fertility of the soil [are] the same with little difference, as in the [other] island, [our Indian from which]¹ was now anxious to remain on shore, where he pointed out his father and mother to us. But another one, belonging to this last island of *Otayti*, having heard of our good nature from him of *Omayto*, was glad to come into the boat with us of his own free will and to go on board the Frigate, where we arrived at half-past eight at night. I communicated all that I had seen, and it was decided in virtue thereof, that if after making a more detailed survey it should be deemed the Frigate could work out again, in the event of her going in there to anchor, she should do so on the morrow in spite of the wind then blowing being the prevailing one, and of the fact that the passage I brought the boat out by leads exactly E.

At daybreak on the 14th we were far to leeward owing to the wind having become scant, from the S.S.E. and S. In order therefore not to lose the day in beating up again we stood away to reconnoitre the northern extreme. The boat went away on this service at half-past eight, and we kept on the in-shore tack until a quarter to eleven, when we went about and took a cast of the lead while in stays, getting 20 fathoms, bottom of coarse sand, gravel, and small shells. The Comandante decided that if the boat should not bring news of any better place we should

¹ All the words within square brackets are wanting in the MS., which is obviously defective here and does not make sense without them.

come back to this position for an anchorage ; and in point of fact, on being recalled, she returned at half-past two without having found any spot adapted for the Frigate's requirements. We then tacked again towards the land with a light air from the S.E. to come up with the 20-fathom patch, being under short canvas in order to allow the boat, which had been ordered to make a closer examination, to draw ahead and prospect. A little after three we took a cast of the lead and got no bottom with 50 fathoms' line. We bore up a little so as to range along the coast a bit and the order was immediately given to heave the lead with more line. At that moment the colour of the water suddenly changed and they sang out for'ard that they could see the bottom and that there was a ledge or reef of rocks. The lead was cast at once and they found 4 fathoms, rocky bottom, wherefore we instantly luffed all we could, with tacks to starboard, in order to head off seawards ; but we did not succeed without touching aft, and remained aground as far for'ard as the gangway, in $2\frac{1}{2}$ and 3 fathoms. Her bows remained afloat, and as huge rocks were coming into view on all sides of us, all hands were ordered for'ard ; —but finding she did not budge, we brailed up everything.

The boat then came along and sounded round us, finding that the water shoaled to port, was of even depth ahead, and deepened to starboard ; and, although the rudder was of no service owing to it having got jammed on the rocks by the scend of the sea striking her heavily under the port bow, on hauling the fore-tack aboard, sheeting aft and hoisting the topsails and mizen, and collecting all hands for'ard, she canted a bit, slid off the ledge, and floated. Some three chunks of sheathing-plank or other timber were seen to come away from under the stern, and the tiller was smashed into three pieces. This loss was made good with the spare one, and we continued to gain more offing.

At the time when we struck the boat was already close to the place where we had obtained a sounding in the morning, and where she had been ordered to station herself as a mark; but as she had passed something like two frigate's lengths to windward of the shoal they did not see it, nor notice any change in the bottom on the several occasions when they sounded. And in the position where she was at the time we got aground, which was inshore of us, she had 20 fathoms, coarse sand¹.

Those who went away in the boat exploring the coast to the nor'ard found a bay with not bad anchorage, but one had to cross a reef with but little depth of water over it to get in. They took a good look at all that part, which is very populous and abounds in coco-nuts, plantains and other fruits, like the southern side. There are also many canoes; and the natives, though of the same general type, are even more robust and sleek.

Finding that the pump-well revealed nothing noteworthy since our grounding we continued all night to the south'ard, with the wind at E.S.E. Day broke without anything fresh either; but this and the next day brought with them some squalls and calms down to the morning of the 18th, when, being a moderate distance off at half-past five, the boat went in with Sub-lieutenant Don Juan Herve, the Master, to make a more exact survey of the entrance and its environment on the seaward side of the channel which leads into the harbour I discovered on the 12th, to the S.E., so as to make sure of its being safe to leave by. He returned at seven in the evening and said that, as he had got no word of any other more roomy passage, one might venture in, and then await a favourable day to come out on: not doubting that a land breeze would be felt in there in the early morning.

¹ All the particulars here given of the incident point to the *Artemise* Bank as the place where it happened. See also vol. I, p. 301, note 1.

So for the due fulfilment of our mission the Comandante decided to enter, and at half-past eleven in the forenoon on the 19th of November, having the wind aft from E.S.E., we did so, after first sending the boat to station herself in the middle of the fairway which forms the entrance; and we moored ship with two anchors and two kedges, the vessel's head pointing towards the S.E., and her hull in 27 fathoms, fine black sand.

On the previous afternoon there came off in the boat with the Master the Cacique of the district (which they call *tabalabu*¹), and three other Indians. They remained on board to sleep, and we treated them with all friendliness and made them feel as welcome as was possible; whilst they, on their part, seemed very well disposed and quite at their ease, and were anxious to serve us as 'longshore pilots for entering the harbour.

The first concern after seeing the Frigate securely moored was to order the diver down to examine her bottom and see whether any repairs were needed, in view of the long and never performed voyage that lay before us for our return. He found, after several dives, that about half of the shoe of the rudder was missing, and that it was somewhat loose about the two lower gudgeons owing to the bending of a pintle, while a portion of the false keel beneath the stern post was also adrift; and, for'ard, a strip of the tongue and part of the false keel next the fore-foot had been torn away. Two *alegrias* were also at fault; and some other defects. All this was reported in Council and it was resolved that there was no sufficient visible damage to call for immediate repair, and that therefore the return voyage should be undertaken whenever it might prove convenient, without change of plan.

¹ This is merely a bad scribe's rendering of *Tallarabu*, now spelt *Taiarapu*.

We set about getting the Frigate into trim with a will, including an overhaul of the water-casks, which had been found to be in a very faulty state: we filled our water and brought off some launch-loads of ballast that we stood in need of. And when the launch's jobs were completed a Council was formed to decide on the best means for making an examination and chart of the entire island as directed in the Instructions. It was resolved that the launch should proceed to make a circuit of the whole, or—provisionally, since we were ignorant of its extent—a portion of the island; leaving it to the judgment of the officer who was to command the expedition to carry it out in so far as weather, provisions, and contingencies might allow.

Accordingly, on the 5th of December, the launch set out under the command of Lieut. Don Thomas Gayangos, with the Revd *Padre Fr.* Jph. Amich, missionary of the Order of Saint Francis and mathematician, Don Ramón Rosales, second Master, and the requisite crew and equipment with provisions for eight days, starting in a northerly direction to begin with.

After we came into harbour the carpenters went to look for timber; and, on meeting with a kind suitable for a tiller, one was made to replace the broken one by. They also got out a mizen-topmast and a main-topsail yard of another timber, that seemed adapted for the purpose; and afterwards cut some firewood such as dead branches and dry logs of no value, in all of which the Indians acquiesced good-naturedly.

Nor did our men lose the opportunity of penetrating into the interior of the country in the neighbourhood of the anchorage, in so far as the rugged nature of the mountains and the frequent rains allowed; and the timbers, crops, herbs, minerals, &c. were duly investigated by their respective experts. At the same time others did their best

to obtain intelligence respecting all the points¹ mentioned in the Instructions,—in the Frigate from the Indians who came on board, and on shore from those who dwelt there or who had come from other districts on learning the news of our arrival.

It is not easy to make a fair estimate of the number of Indians of all ages and sexes who, from the moment when we let go our anchor, came on board and all round about the ship, in their canoes. Some came off at daybreak, but the most of them, and the Chiefs, after the sun was high. They all brought something wherewith to barter with our people; some of them, as they approached, would hold up to our view beautiful bunches of plantains, coco-nuts and other fruits with which their island abounds: others birds that our men admired, others wraps or pieces of cloth of various sorts that they get from the bark of a tree, others mats, others shells and shell-fish, and in fact each one came with whatever his industry had afforded him to give in exchange for the things he had fain get. Those they were most keen after were small knives (which they call *tipi*), hatchets (that they call *toy*²), nails and any bit of iron, out of which they fashioned for themselves fish-hooks and tools for wood-working. At first they were glad of any old white or red clout; but by degrees, as they saw good pieces of cloth and shirts, they raised the prices of their wares, and were not content but with finer linen and a shirt, which they called together *paraguay*³. They are exceedingly shrewd and quick-witted in their dealing; but they are at the same time very straightforward and by no means given to cheating, so that whenever one of our people was not satisfied with what he had bought they

¹ The word is written *puertos* (harbours), but it is probably intended for *puntos* (points or subjects), which occurs in the Instructions.

² *Tipi* is correct. *Toy* stands for *toi*.

³ *Paruai*.

would at once give back what they had accepted for it. They are something mistrustful, and very covetous ; and it is my belief that the dread in which they held us on account of our arms had no¹ more to do with keeping them in hand than their own good inclinations.

They understood from the fellow we brought from the isle of *San Cristobal*, and by the presents we gave them, that we were friendly ; nevertheless, when they came on board the first time, swarming up the side from their canoes and clambering in through the portholes, they kept repeating the word "*Tayo*" (which means 'friend' in our language) and were not content until we answered them with the same word and embraced them. And the "*Heris*", as they call them, or caciques, for the most part each took one of us for his particular *tayo* to such good effect that we could never separate ourselves from such an one for one instant.

They are all very fond of fresh meat as food, especially the flesh of swine and poultry. Bread, biscuits, walnuts, almonds, and pears also pleased them ; but nothing made into a stew with sauces, nor vinegar, nor anything piquant or salt. They retired always at sunset or a little later.

Towards the latter part of our stay we noticed a sort of epidemic catarrh amongst the majority of them, with sore throat, which troubled them a great deal and prostrated them severely : so much so that almost all those who belonged to other districts, and even those of *Tallarabu*, betook themselves off. We also made out that they believed the ailment had been brought and communicated by our Frigate, and we further suspected that their going off was prompted more by fear than by the

¹ The word 'no' seems unwanted here ; but such is the MS.

² *Tayo*.

³ *Arii*. See vol. I, p. 13, note 1.

epidemic; for they gave us to understand that another vessel which had been there had inflicted some injury on them when she was about to depart, and this seemed why they took so much care to be always asking us when we intended to go. Still, some one canoe or another never quite gave up coming alongside, down to the time we left.

On the 10th of December our launch returned with all her crew, having made the circuit of the entire island in the space of five nights and six days, and carefully charted it. From the information she brought, and from what was seen and observed, there remains no doubt that this is the island that the Instructions directed should be explored, since the natives who live in it call it "*Otahiti*" and it is situated in lat. $17^{\circ} 29' S.$, and long. $233^{\circ} 32'$ from the meridian of Tenerife —though this latter does not exactly tally with 10 hrs. 7 ms. from that of Paris. But then that may perhaps not be wholly reliable and accurate; and indeed it would be no extraordinary thing if there were some error or mistake in our figures, for in unknown seas and amongst islands it is quite possible for the currents¹ to give rise to some discrepancy.

The name ISLA DE AMAT was given to this island. It extends N.N.W. and S.S.E. nine leagues, W.N.W. and E.S.E. thirteen and a half leagues, circumference from forty to forty-five leagues; and lies sixteen leagues distant from the small island of *San Cristobal*, and 1274 from El Callao².

In figure it is like two islands united by a tongue of land two leagues in width which forms two lovely bays on

¹ The MS. has "cortes"—evidently intended for 'corrientes,' or its abbreviation 'cortes.'

² Cf. vol. I, pp. 12 and 326.

its N.E. and S.E.¹ sides respectively; and the whole is encircled by a reef of rocks on which the sea breaks heavily, some three to as much as six cables distant from the main shore. Within this the sea is absolutely smooth. There are only two short stretches off the N. and S. extremities [of the island] where there is no reef and the coast is exposed. For entering through the reef and reaching the land there are several breaks with channels of ample depth which expand inside into roadsteads or regular harbours as the plan shows; although it is to be noted that only the one where we lay at anchor in the Frigate (called after *Santa Maria Magdalena*) on the S.E. side, in the district of *Sallalara*², is at present properly surveyed and has had any exact plan made of it. Time did not permit of so detailed an examination of the others; and one ought to be very careful in entering or leaving by them all, their mouths being skirted by low reefs which are not noticed save at very short range, besides which the wind is apt to die away in the entrance, and in such case any vessel may become endangered by the tides and currents. For these reasons it is necessary to try to pass in with a good steady breeze, in the morning and on the flood tide, for the ebb is much stronger and lasts (at any rate at the surface) a longer time. In the harbour of *Santa Maria Magdalena* during the full and change [of the moon] high water occurs at one o'clock in the afternoon, and the rise is only from one to one and a half fathoms³.

¹ The MS. has S.E.; but obviously S.W. would be correct, and was doubtless intended, the "tongue" or neck of land mentioned being the isthmus of *Taravao* which, however, contracts to barely two *miles* at the narrowest point.

² Meant for *Taiarapu* again.

³ The MS. has *vrajas*, which is most likely meant for *brazas* (fathoms) though it might do for *varas* (yards), considering the general carelessness of the scribe. As a matter of fact the rise and fall is no more than about fourteen inches usually, or not half a *vara*. Cf. Boenechea's observations, vol. I, p. 329.

There are rocky patches dotted about over the bottom, too, which cause much injury to one's cables.

Most of the country-side is mountainous and rugged, and only on the N.W. and S.W. sides are there any level tracts and gently sloping valleys, besides the strip of land formed by the large bays on its N.E. and S.W.¹ Nevertheless it consists of black soil throughout, very fertile and well wooded,—strewn, indeed, with some loose stones, but covered everywhere with wild herbage, trees of various kinds and sizes, brushwood and thorns, which form, in places, dense and impenetrable thickets. Water is very plentiful, for permanent streams pour down most of the ravines and unite² at the skirts of the hills to form middling-sized brooks and rivers. Most of the cultivation is to be found in the valleys and flats which extend from the foot of the mountains to the sea-beach, for it is here only that the natives reside; and, in places, these are only two or three cables or even less, in width. Only the district of *Payala*³ is fairly broad. Palms with many coco-nuts are in the greatest abundance, for the entire island is fringed with these trees which, from a little distance off, afford a most beautiful prospect. There are five kinds of plantains: two of them especially noteworthy, the one for its size, and the other for its fine flavour; the latter being something like those they call "*de la tierra*" at Lima. They have plenty of yams, of which they plant quantities, and these serve them, together with the other fruits I have mentioned in the description of Mount *San Cristobal*, for preparing certain puddings and mashes that they partially bake, and afterwards eat cold: and which are very nourishing for them. There are also other fruits that they do not cultivate, some having the taste of a chestnut, others of a walnut, others

¹ Cf. note 1 on p. 53. The MS. here has S.W. correctly written.

² The MS. has "sugetan," doubtless meant for *se juntan*.

³ i.e. Papara. The 'y' is a copyist's error.

of an apple¹; but they are not like those of Europe as to their form, nor as to the trees [they grow on], and are generally all of the poorest flavour to our palates. The few red sweet potatoes they also possess are exceedingly well-tasted. There is a root resembling ginger, and there are some white flowers like daisies, with a very nice scent: others in the likeness of poppies, which are also very pretty to look at, but the rest are commonplace².

Those who fare best are the Caciques and headmen, for they possess pigs of fair size, and also fowls; because (although we saw none) those who went round the island in the launch heard hens and cocks crow on two mornings, and they [the Chiefs] told us so too. Thus it is that the *arii* or Caciques are all stout, some of them to ungainliness, so that they have two Indians constantly kneading³ their legs and even then are scarcely able to stand upright.

The common people frequently suffer a dearth of food, and most of them support themselves on cockles, and some fish which they eat raw. The good and finer fish, of which there is great plenty in the sea, are [reserved] for the *arii* and principal persons. The men eat apart from the women, and they tuck such quantities into their mouths that they can scarcely chew: so that these all become regular little baker's ovens.

There are dogs of several breeds: some quite small, and others very large and hairy. Mice in plenty and very tame. Of special birds only blue parroquets with red bill and feet; but there are parrots, wood-pigeons and many other common birds. In the space of two leagues for which [our people] were able to penetrate into the interior in the neighbourhood of the harbour, though they did so

¹ The *ihi*, *tutui*, and *'ahi'a* respectively: see vol. I, p. 327.

² Don Raimundo was clearly no florist. His 'daisy' was probably the *tiare* or native gardenia (*Randia tahitensis*, Nadeaud) and his 'poppy' the common scarlet hibiscus (*H. Rosa-sinensis*, Linn.).

³ *Rumi*: *taurumirumi*. Polynesians are expert in massage.

with much labour on account of the rugged nature of the hillsides and denseness of the forest, a few good timbers were noted; some like a kind of lignum vitae, others resembling the yellow guaiacum, others seemingly adapted for yards and topmasts, others for knees and various requirements in shipbuilding, and yet others apparently serviceable, but of which no proper opinion could be formed because we were unacquainted with their lasting qualities and grain.

The houses in which the natives live are of the same class and construction as those at the isle of *San Cristobal*, except that there are some larger ones of an oval shape in which whole mobs of people gather together. The *arii* and Chiefs have numerous huts of their own, standing apart and better built. Their chattels consist of small baskets, mats, cloth strips, little stools for seats and head-rests, a few bowls for mashing their food in.

Most of them sleep on the ground, with a sheaf of dried grasses beneath them and wraps [of native cloth] for covering; but he who sleeps more comfortably lies on a small platform and uses a stool for a pillow. Others sleep in the cuddies of their canoes, which they haul up and keep under a shed every night, because their construction costs them much labour; having no tools but stone ones, and, for smoothing implements, the skins of sharks or other large fish.

Most of the canoes are formed of separate pieces of timber very neatly scarfed, and joined up by lacing with a very strong kind of cord that they make. The seams are caulked with dry coco-nut fibre and a sort of resin that they get out of a tree, after being well seasoned, and which they call *tepao*¹. At times they couple two canoes

¹ Should be *tapau*—the sticky exudation from parts of the bread-fruit tree, when wounded: and also the resin of the *tamanu* (*Calophyllum inophyllum*, Linn.).

together abreast with a space between them, and rig up their cuddy on a small platform which connects the hulls. Others are handled with sails made of mats, and go out fishing with hooks made of different kinds of shells. They also fish up beautiful pearl-shells; but, though we made enquiry for pearls, we saw but very few and only small ones.

These Indians are very quick and intelligent, very ready to make friends with us, but exceedingly covetous and importunate; from which they derive a proneness to steal whenever an opportunity presents itself to them; and even the Chiefs were not exempt from this propensity.

The freedom in which they live favours license, in some sort; nevertheless most of them have but one wife, others two, and but few as many as three, whom it appears they can put away when they are tired of them.

No form of adoration or worship has been observed amongst them, though they explained to us that they offer up a sacrifice every six months, in the shape of a small hog, to a God who is the one who brings death upon them. They preserve their dead and keep them without burial until they begin to putrefy; and then they deposit them in a grave dug within one of the enclosures that serve for tombs, and lay some fruits on top for their sustenance (or that of the maggots). They pay great respect to these places of sepulture, and they do not willingly approach them themselves nor do they like other persons to pass near.

I do not venture to write of their various superstitions because, since it is not easy to understand them, each person forms a different idea of what they observe, or wish to give us to believe they do; and there would now be a thousand misapprehensions and uncertainties about things which, in course of time, four Indians of the island whom we have on board, may reveal to us [with greater clearness].

But one thing about which there is no doubt is that,

at a certain age, they are circumcised; for the smallest whom we took with us will be from ten to twelve years old and has not yet been done, while the other three have.

The clothing is the same as in the other island, and so is the puncturing¹; except that we know, in addition, that they do not puncture the buttocks so long as they remain unmarried, but use only a few small devices dotted over the arms and hands.

There were observed in the island eight principal *arii*, and some others of inferior degree; and one who is the chief one of all, whom the rest recognise as their superior. Nevertheless, I do not think they render him much obedience, as each one rules his respective district. Some of the latter are at cross purposes with one another, and I believe that they even fight, at times, as do the natives of the neighbouring island called *Morea*.

Sundry of the Indians who came on board of us gave us to believe that there are as many as twenty or more islands not very far from each other; but there may be some mistake about this.

We also understood, without the slightest doubt, that two vessels like this frigate had been at anchor at this island of *Otaeyte* or "AMAT," and that one of them went away and returned to port here on several occasions. It is a fact that we saw, and are bringing with us, a *poncho* [made] of the woollen stuff they use at Buenos Ayres and the *Malvinas*, which one of the Indians was wearing². Another had an iron axe, now broken, but not of our stock; some fish-hooks made out of nails, and the blade of a small knife, are also evident signs.

Their knowledge of the manner of coming to an anchor and furling sails, of the use of cannon, muskets and other

¹ i.e. tattooing.

² Cf. vol. I, p. 304, note 3.

arms, their questioning us as to why we did not carry masts of the same kind as the other ship, whose build and size they described very clearly, their mentioning, too, that the Captain of one of the vessels had a big nose and ate with a two-pronged fork¹, would seem to leave no manner of doubt that some ship has certainly been at the island.

In the course of time our four Indians will clear up all this and much more that it is wished to know, for a good deal of progress is necessary yet before we can understand each other in regard to out-of-the-way matters or lengthy conversations. These considerations and many others led to a decision being come to in full Council to find, by some means or other, three or four Indians among the natives of these islands and endeavour to convey them with us in safety: which in fact we did, at our departure, with four of them of suitable ages and good intelligence, so that the experiment should not go amiss as we know from other accounts has happened with several travellers.

Our commission being now brought to a close, apparently in the best manner it could be, the Comandante decided to make sail and proceed to the island of *Morea* with a view to its investigation; and therefore, at ten in the morning of the 20th of December, 1772, we got under way with the wind from N.N.E., moderate, by slipping the end of our after spring, and the for'ard cablet and stream anchor, which we left the launch to recover; and we succeeded in passing safely out between the points [of the reef] at a quarter past ten. At the time of putting to sea there was hardly a single Indian to be seen on the beach.

¹ Bonacorsi could not, of course, give any clue as to whether it was Capt. Cook or M. de Bougainville whom the natives credited with these peculiarities; but on comparing his narrative with Hervé's account [vol. I, p. 351] it would seem that the guilty party was Banks. Of the three men, however, probably Cook would have been the more content with such a fork as that mentioned. See also notes 2 and 3 on the page just cited.

The climate of Amat's island is hot and humid, for there was scarcely a day during the time of our stay in the harbour and its vicinity when it did not rain. The sky would clear up quickly again, and the sun shed its rays with such force that, although the Indians seek shelter and cover from them, some of our men who were not able to protect themselves got their bodies so scorched that the skin peeled off all over them and it became necessary to bleed them and place them under treatment on the sick list.

The prevailing winds during all this time were.....¹ rather than those (as we believed) from N. and N.E., very fresh, with smart showers, thunder and lightning; giving cause for much watchful care because the situation is confined. There is a land breeze almost every morning from the W., but faint, and scarcely extending half a league out to sea. S. and S.E. winds have no force. The climate nevertheless appears a healthy one, for our people kept well in spite of all the labour they had to perform; and the natives are extremely fleshy, sleek and healthy.

The launch arrived alongside at a quarter past three in the afternoon with the stream anchor, cablet, and spring; and we stood coastwise along the southern side of the island named AMAT'S. Next day we were close to the island of *Morva*: we skirted a great part of it, but found ourselves somewhat handicapped by calms and currents², and we were not able to lower the boat in order to send her inshore, lest we should have need of her. We continued so until the morning of the 22nd, and when, at noon, a breeze set in from N.N.E., which was adverse for

¹ MS. defective. Boenechea says the 1st quadrant: see vol. I, p. 326-7. This was the hot season, be it remembered.

² The Admiralty Sailing Directions warn ships against attempting this channel under canvas only, for this very reason.

closing in with the island and would have involved much delay if we had sought to make any farther examination of it, it was decided in Council to proceed on our course for Chile. This, therefore, we did, about midday, heading S.E. 4° S., with the wind from N.N.E., fresh: particularly as the officer who made the circuit of AMAT'S in the launch had held a long conversation with one of the *arii* [of *Moorea*] and many of its people, during which he enquired of them for all the information about harbours, and ships, without learning anything more than had been told us by those of AMAT'S as to their having seen any other vessel or vessels like ours.

Island of *Santo Domingo*
(*Moorea*).

This island, called by the natives who live there *Morea*, and to which the name *Santo Domingo* was given by us, is situated in $17^{\circ} 26'$ of latitude S. and in longitude 233° . It extends six miles N. and S., seven miles E. and W., and is twenty-one in circumference. It is separated from that of AMAT, on the W. side of the latter, by a channel or strait of exceeding depth and three or four leagues in width E. and W. It is mountainous, and has a very high pyramid-shaped peak at its S.W. part¹. It is surrounded by reefs which stretch a good way out to sea. The people who inhabit it are of the same kind as those of AMAT'S Island; their huts, its productiveness, and the manner of living are also the same, according to what was seen, and gathered from our informants.

We proceeded on our course, increasing both latitude and longitude; and the winds so favoured us that we passed the tropic after eight days' run, and after twenty-five were in lat. 38° and had also gained 14° in longitude.

¹ Mount *Tohivea*, 3975 ft.

To run down our easting cost us more trouble, notwithstanding that we experienced but few strong head winds. There were some from the S.E., but of short duration; and from S.E. they chopped into the N.E., then North winds very fresh, N.W., W. and S.W., to S. calms and light airs, till they veered again to S.E., fresh, and worked round as before¹.

This good fortune attended us until our arrival in port, for had there been no N.N.E., N., and N.W. winds I believe we should not have reached there.

The highest latitude we touched was $39^{\circ} 11'$ S., on the 15th of February.

The sea showed no discolouration due to the bank of soundings off Juan Fernandez's islands, as we were from 45 to 50 leagues S. of the land²; and, without any guiding mark but the birds and the colour of the water, nor having seen any vessel whatever, land was sighted ahead at noon on Sunday the 21st of February, and, cracking on all sail with a stiff $7\frac{1}{2}$ knot breeze from the south'ard, we soon recognised it to be the heights of San Antonio. Steering thence towards the N.E. we succeeded in entering the harbour of Valparayso and letting go the stream anchor, at six in the evening of the 21st of February of the year 1773. We got the ship securely moored N.N.E. and S.S.W. during the night; having occupied 61 days on the voyage, from the date when we proceeded on our course from the island of *Santo Domingo*, and 148 days from that of our departure from El Callao: with very little or no error in the

¹ This sentence is very clumsily drafted or copied in the MS. and, being written without punctuation, is difficult to render; but I have followed the words *verbatim* and the sense is correctly represented by the translation.

² This sentence is even more confused in the MS. and contains, in the middle of it, the first two lines of the Journal, repeated through some gross carelessness on the part of the scribe, probably when resuming after an interruption.

reckoning or account, for at the most it was scarcely 10 or 15 leagues too easterly¹.

The four Indians we obtained from AMAT'S Island arrived safely, as well as those whom we had brought with us from the port of El Callao. Only two serious cases of illness were landed here at Valparayso, of whom one rated as a ship's boy died after being two days on shore; the lad had been unwell when he started from El Callao, and was kept in the sick bay throughout the voyage. The other serious case, with a baddish attack of scurvy, and others beginning to get it, are all improving.

The biggest of the Indians from AMAT'S Island will be seemingly about 35 to 40 years of age: he is called Pauiti in his own country, and here Thomas. The next will be from 25 to 28 years, called Tripitipia and here Joseph: the other from 16 to 18 years called Osehellao in the island and here Francisco: and the smallest will be 10 or 12 years, named Getuani, and here he is called Manuel².

We are now busily engaged in getting ready to proceed to the exploration of the isle of *San Carlos* in accordance with the purport of our Instructions and the last part of our commission, in order to return from thence to the Port of El Callao de Lima.

[Dated] at the Port of Valparayso, at anchor: to-day the 6th of March of the year 1773.

[Unsigned.]

¹ As they had accumulated 6° of easterly error during the run from Callao to Tahiti, they may have eliminated it during the passage back from thence to Valparaiso; and as they did not at any time know the true longitude of Tahiti it would seem to Bonacorsi and his colleagues that their reckoning had worked out nearly correct all through. If, on the other hand, they depended for their longitude on the D.R. alone one would expect the error to have increased in proportion to the distance sailed, irrespective of the course.

² These names should read Pautu, Tipitipia, O Heiao (?), and Tetuanui respectively.

AN ACCOUNT
OF
THE FIRST VOYAGE OF THE *AGUILA*,
UNDER CAPTAIN DON DOMINGO DE BOENECHEA,
TO TAHITI:

1772—1773.

BY
THE MISSIONARY PADRE
FR. JOSEPH AMICH,
A MEMBER OF THE EXPEDITION.

[Translated from *El Viagero Universal*,—Tomo XVII: a work edited by Don Pedro Estala, and printed and published at Madrid, (*Imprenta de Villalpando*), 1798.]

LETTER CCLXXXII.

First voyage of the Spaniards to Otaheiti¹.

THROUGH the arrival at the port of El Callao, in the year 1769, of a French ship² which had come from the East Indies, it became known that an Island had been sighted which lies in 27° 30' South latitude at a little more than six hundred leagues apart from the coast of Chile. This island was seen in the year 1685 by an English vessel whose captain was called Davis³, and he named it after himself. The Viceroy of Perú, Don MANUEL DE AMAT, despatched a ship of the line called the *San Lorenzo* and a frigate called the *Santa Rosalia* to take stock of this island. They sailed from the port of El Callao on the 10th of October, 1770, and sighted the island in question⁴ on the 15th of November of the same year.

They took soundings all round it with much care, and found the holding ground bad everywhere, being rocky,

¹ For some particulars of the publication of this narrative, firstly in Spanish, next in German, and later in French, see vol. I, Introduction, pp. xxxviii-ix and xliv-iv.

² The *Saint-Jean-Baptiste*, commanded by M. de Surville. She failed to find Easter Island, which was her real or alleged destination, but reached El Callao on April the 9th, 1770. See Bibl. no. 32 (a), no. 59, and MSS. nos. 1, 2 and 3.

³ The actual date was 1687. There is little doubt that Davis never saw Easter Island, but fell in with *Temoe* (Crescent Island). Geographers afterwards wrote of his landfall as "Davis's land"—he himself gave it no name; and, when Roggeveen discovered and named Easter Island, this spot became associated with Davis's report because the latitudes, as quoted, corresponded.

⁴ viz. the real Easter Island, of Roggeveen. See Bibl. no 32 (a).

with some sand. Only on the north side was there any roadstead, it being a matter of one mile distant from land and having a bottom of coarse sand with a depth of twenty to fifty fathoms' water. In all the circuit of the island, which counts twelve leagues, they found no convenient landing-place excepting one small sandy cove: all the remainder being strewn with boulders and exposed to the violence of the waves.

The island is peopled with wild Indians: well-built, and bronzed by exposure to all weathers, for they go naked, merely concealing their parts with a girdle made of plantain cloth¹. They showed themselves well disposed; they are idolaters, and have many stone idols of enormous size². The Comandante of the ship, Don Francisco³ Gonzalez, ordered three crosses to be placed on three hillocks that stand at the east end; but the Indians removed them the next day. The inhabitants of the island appeared to amount to a thousand of all ages and sexes: they have their dwellings below ground because the island affords no timber for building with. It is of middling height: the land stony, but in parts it grows *yucas*⁴, sugar-cane, yams, plantains and gourds. It has no forest tract, but there are some patches of scrub: water is also lacking, and they get what they have from wells they make on the sea-beaches.

¹ The writer had doubtless been at Manila, where the fibres of the stems of *Musa textilis* are woven into a fine cloth, for which, seeing plantains at Easter Island, he mistook the natives' *maro* of *Broussonetia* bark.

² Spaniards were wont to assume that every idea that was non-orthodox was *ipso facto* heathen, and that every object carved in the likeness of a human figure was of necessity an "idol" intended for adoration. Moreover, the writer of this narrative was a seaman turned cleric, and may be supposed to have been inclined to narrow mindedness. The remarkable stone statues at Easter Island are now considered to have been formed and set up as sepulchral effigies of deceased ancestors, the natives' veneration for whose memory may easily have been regarded by the Spaniards of the eighteenth century as a form of worship.

³ "Francisco" is an error for Felipe.

⁴ See vol. I, p. 6, note 3.

There are some small chickens, and also fish in very small quantity.

(A trustworthy person who has conversed with people who were at the island has assured me that the number of its inhabitants never exceeds nine hundred, because the islanders declare that the land will not maintain more than that. When this number is complete, if any child be born they kill some one who is over seventy years old; and if there be none such, they kill the newly born one.)

The aforementioned ships having returned to the port of El Callao, with plans of Davis's island—on which the name of *San Carlos* was bestowed—the Viceroy communicated this information to H.M., who directed that measures be concerted for forming a settlement on the island: both in order to prevent its being occupied by any other nation, as well as to enable the Holy Gospel to be preached there to the native inhabitants.

In order to give effect to this command of H.M. the naval frigate *Santa Maria Magdalena*, alias the "Aguila," was got ready early in May of the year 1772, her captain being Don Domingo Boenechea; and the Viceroy having asked for two missionary clerics from the College at Ocopa, that they might go in the frigate, the *padres* Fr. Juan Bonamo, an Italian, and Fr. Joseph Amich¹, a Catalan who in his time had long served as Master in the King's ships, were appointed. As there was no exact information about the isle of *San Carlos* or its natives, no attempt was made to form any settlement at this time, but [they were] to thoroughly explore it and gain intelligence of everything that might conduce to the stability of any subsequent arrangements. With this object some clothing and other things were put on board to be given away to the Indians, in order, by such attentions, to gain their goodwill.

¹ The writer of the original narrative from which Don Pedro Estala edited the printed version. Cf. note 1 on p. 77.

Just when the frigate was ready to sail the Viceroy received advices from the Spanish Government in which it was announced to him that the English had been at an island in the Pacific Ocean called by them "King George's Island," and by the natives there "*Otaheti*;" found in latitude $17^{\circ} 29'$ South, and $150^{\circ} 40' 17''$ West of the meridian of Paris: and he was instructed to have this island explored. The Viceroy kept this commission a secret; but proceeded with the fitting out of the frigate, giving out merely that she was bound on a voyage of reconnaissance to the isle of *San Carlos*: so that when the vessel was fully equipped, and furnished with a suitable complement and crew, and had taken six months' provisions on board, they sailed from the port of El Callao on the 26th day of September of 1772, at two o'clock in the afternoon.

The Viceroy had handed to Don Domingo Boenechea, the Captain of the frigate, a sealed packet of orders to be opened so soon as he should be ten leagues clear away from El Callao; and, this distance having been attained, the packet was opened accordingly and found to comprise two missions in the one voyage: namely, the examination of the island of *Otaheti*, and that of the isle of *San Carlos*; leaving it to the Captain's judgment to proceed on either soever of the two missions first, and even to make for the port of Valparaiso after having executed the first one, in order to refresh, and then to start anew in prosecution of the second. After the two sections of the commission had been considered by the Captain and Officers it was decided to set about the quest and examination of the island of *Otaheti* first, and a course was therefore set W.S.W. in order to gain the latitude in which it was said to lie¹.

After we had got clear of the coast we stood on our course and carried the trade-wind in our favour, [blowing]

¹ The text reads thus far as if narrated by Don Pedro Estala. From this point it proceeds in the first person, in Amich's own words.

from S.S.E. to E.N.E., with occasional showers; when we had reached the latitude we wanted a course was steered W. in search of our island. On the 28th of October at daybreak a small wooded island was sighted at E.N.E., about four leagues distant; and, judging by the direction in which it bore from us, we must have passed within a matter of half a league of it at two o'clock in the small hours of the morning. We luffed round on a bowline to reconnoitre it; but the wind, being contrary, did not allow us to gain the weather gauge of the island until the 30th. On the afternoon of the 29th, having got near to its western extremity, a bonfire was lit up on the island; and we naturally concluded there must be people there, survivors probably of some shipwreck: because the island is quite small, made up of three islets connected by shoals and enclosing a large lagoon inside, in which were some canoes. The land is low-lying, with a light growth of jungle and some coco-nut palms.

Finding ourselves to windward of the island at daybreak on the 30th we sent the boat in to explore it; and scarcely had she approached the shore when about twenty Indians emerged from the jungle, armed with spears or long pikes, and some with clubs. They were nude, and covered their parts with kerchiefs seemingly of cotton. They were stoutly built and very brown, they wore their hair short, and it appeared to be very coarse. They followed along [the beach] after the boat, and kept lighting fires in the scrub, at which signal some more Indians similarly armed came forward; and whenever it seemed to them that the boat was trying to gain the beach they ranged themselves in position and made gestures as if to oppose a landing. The shore of this island is everywhere composed of white and reddish rocks, and quite steep-to. The boat was unable to approach the beach because of the heavy surf; nor could they find any anchorage for the frigate, nor any passage

into the lagoon. Seeing therefore that it was impossible to reach the shore without obvious danger of the boat being lost, she returned alongside; and after hoisting her in we resumed our course.

We named this island *San Simon's*, but it might well be called [the Isle] of Flies, from the many that came off with the boat. It is situated in latitude $17^{\circ} 25'$ South, and in longitude $241^{\circ} 10'$ from the meridian of Tenerife: being distant from the harbour of El Callao 1118 sea leagues¹.

Continuing our voyage, we discovered on the 31st of October, at 9 in the morning, a low island in the W.N.W. with light jungle and some palms on it. We headed towards it and coasted along its northern side. Some very grim looking Indians armed with long spears came forward. As there was no place, anywhere along the shore, adapted for exploring (being full of reefs throughout), we did not lower the boat to attempt it. We named this island *San Quintin's*: it lies in latitude $17^{\circ} 30'$ South, and in longitude $239^{\circ} 16'$ from the meridian of Tenerife. From *San Simon's* isle it is distant 38 sea leagues².

Having due regard to the islands that were now being encountered, which are not on the maps, and to the fact that there might be others of the same kind, it was decided to lie to every night, and to proceed only by daylight.

On the 1st of November, at five in the afternoon, a low island was discovered in the W., which appeared to be of considerable extent. There was no chance to reconnoitre it then, because the daylight was scant; so we lay to all through the night, during which there were many heavy showers of rain. In the morning it fell calm, and we were consequently still not able to get near to the island. On the 3rd of November, having approached it on the N.E.

¹ This was *Tauere*. See pp. 32-34 and vol. I, pp. 286-7, note 2 and Plan.

² *Haraiki*. See pp. 34-36 and vol. I, p. 288, note 1 and Plan.

side, by nine o'clock in the morning the boat went away in to see whether there was any place that could be explored; but the shore is so beset with reefs that it was not possible to reach it at any part. More than a hundred Indians of all ages and sexes came out upon the beach, seemingly in merry mood; but about one o'clock in the afternoon, having been unable to effect a landing anywhere, the boat returned, at which time we lay all but becalmed and jammed close in to the shore—which shoals very suddenly—and she was obliged to tow the frigate nearly all the afternoon to free us from danger. We succeeded in keeping at a moderate distance off all night.

On the 4th of November, being then near the S.E. part of the island with a rather fresh breeze from N.E., the boat went in at 8 o'clock in the morning to reconnoitre, the frigate keeping meanwhile in sight of her under short canvas. The boat coasted all along the S.W. portion of the island without finding any fit landing-place, owing to the rocky nature of the foreshore throughout. Seeing its impracticability we recalled the boat at one o'clock and, after hoisting her in, proceeded on our voyage.

This island is much larger than the other two, and consists of a great many islets connected together by barriers and ledges of reef, so that a large lagoon is formed in the middle. It extends lengthwise six leagues from S.E. to N.W. Its surface is slightly raised, and the bush is very dense, the trees composing it being of fairly large growth, with many palms. We named this island after *todos los Santos*¹: its eastern extreme lies in latitude $17^{\circ} 35'$ South, and in longitude $237^{\circ} 36'$ from the meridian of Tenerife: being distant from *San Quintin's* isle 32 sea leagues.

Continuing our course we discovered, on the 6th of

¹ *Anaa* or Chain island. See pp. 36–38, and vol. I, pp. 288–92 notes, and Plan.

November at nine in the morning, a very high hill in the W.S.W. We steered for it, and it was seen to be quite a small island, although so high, and clothed with verdure. By four in the afternoon we had got close in, and despatched the boat to explore the island from its South side while we in the frigate sailed round it by the northern end. A small canoe of the island came off with two Indians in it making a great show of merriment: they brought some coco-nuts which they bartered for small knives and other trifles. The boat returned at seven at night and we learnt from her that it was peopled by some 150 persons of all ages and sexes. The island is full of woodland and of coco-nut palms. We made short tacks to maintain our position to windward, all night, and to ascertain whether there was any anchorage where the frigate might water.

On the 7th, at eight in the morning, the boat went ashore to investigate, and six canoes with three Indians in each came off about the same time, bringing coco-nuts, some fish, and various curiosities, that they exchanged for small knives, shirts, and trinkets of sorts. The Indians of this island are well built, stout, of a light hue, and have beards although but scanty: their hair is somewhat frizzly, but some of them have it lank. They commonly go naked, but some wear a small smock of very fine matting. They are very light-hearted and mirthful.

The natives call this island *Omaetu*¹; and we gave it the name of *San Christobal*, because of the likeness its hill bears to the one called "San Christobal's" at Lima. It lies in $17^{\circ} 45'$ latitude South, and in 235° longitude from the meridian of Tenerife: being distant from the island of *Todos Santos* fifty leagues.

¹ *Mehetia*, formerly called *Mehetu*, and anciently *Tuhua*. See pp. 38-42, and vol. I, pp. 292-7, notes and Plan.

² Itself so called after another of the same name, near Cadiz.

At three in the afternoon the boat returned, having found no anchorage, nor any safe landing except by the help of the Indians' canoes; and having hoisted her in we proceeded on our voyage. It was the Captain's wish to take some Indian away with us from the island; but, contented in their wretchedness, not one would voluntarily forsake his native soil. One very cheery Indian, however, took a fancy to the carpenter's mate, and came off with him to the frigate, where he remained of his own accord.

On the 8th of November at nine in the morning high land came into view to the westward, stretching towards the N.W., and the instant the Indian saw it he shouted out excitedly "*Otaheti! Otaheti!*" and, pointing to the land in sight, gave us to understand that that was the name of it. The Indian repeated "*Otaheti*" so many times that the Captain was thereby put in mind of the tenour of his instructions, and on considering them attentively together with the agreement in the name, it was concluded that the land now in sight must be the same island of *Otaheti* that we were in search of; notwithstanding that, according to our computation, we still wanted a hundred leagues [of westing] before reaching its longitude¹. This island lies nineteen leagues distant from that of *San Christobal*. As the wind had died down almost to a calm, the Captain did not then venture to make for the coast, of whose character he was ignorant.

The whole of the 9th, 10th, and 11th were calm, with some rain-squalls. As our Indian gave us to understand that there was a harbour and watering place in the island of *Otaheti*, the boat was sent ashore on the 12th, when the wind had settled itself into the E., with an officer and also the Indian from *San Christobal*. She returned at eight o'clock at night, bringing word that they had found a fairly

¹ As elsewhere shown, their reckoning had now 6° of easterly error.

good harbour with a watering place, ballast, and wood handy.

The 13th dawned with the wind from N.E., and in view of the information brought off by the boat and the description the Indian had given us, it was decided in council that we should proceed into harbour to water and refresh; but as the wind was light this was put off until the next day.

The 14th dawned with the wind from S.E. and we found ourselves to leeward, towards the northern side of the island. Having despatched the boat to investigate the coast, we made a board landwards, and when we were two miles off shore we got bottom at twenty fathoms, fine sand and small shells. As it seemed to us likely to prove a better bay than the harbour already examined by the boat, it was decided to anchor there: while the cables were being cleared and got ready we wore ship and stood to seaward for an hour or so, and we next tacked towards the land, the boat keeping ahead of us and sounding as she went. At ten in the forenoon, being then two miles from shore, we suddenly found ourselves fast on a ledge of rocks with but little water over it. The frigate hung by the heel somewhere, and, although there was nothing of a sea on, so soon as the rudder touched, the tiller was smashed into pieces. 'Twas by God's grace that there should be no swell; and, as the frigate was touching only by her after part, the wind, which was along shore, swung her head towards the N.W., and with what little way she had on her she bumped on a rock beneath her larboard bilge, which slewed her to N.; and then, on our setting the foresail, she floated clear.

When the frigate grounded the boat was a mile inshore of her, in twenty fathoms' water. The pumps were sounded as soon as the frigate floated, and nothing unusual was found as regards water [in the holds]. We clapped on sail

to get clear of the coast, and the spare tiller we carried was shipped in place of the other.

All the 15th, 16th, and 17th light airs and heavy showers prevailed, and we endeavoured to keep near the coast.

On the morning of the 18th the boat was sent inshore with the Master to thoroughly examine the harbour. It returned at dusk with the Cacique of that district; and the Master gave his assurance that the anchorage was good and safe, on account of which it was decided to proceed into that harbour and bring up, in order to overhaul the frigate.

The 19th of November dawned with the wind from N.E., and although there were some smart showers, we proceeded, with the boat ahead taking soundings, and at eleven in the forenoon let go in sixteen fathoms, fine sand, in the harbour we named after the *Aguila*, situated at the S.E. part of the island, in the district of *Tallarabu*, distant from the port of El Callao one thousand two hundred and fifty-seven sea leagues.

The diver here examined the frigate's bottom, and according to his report, a portion of sheathing plank was torn away from the keel for a matter of two fathoms at the after end, and another strip of about one fathom just by the stem; but as the vessel was not making water it was concluded with good reason that her bottom was not damaged.

The strong currents experienced at this anchorage (although the rise and fall of the tide is barely two feet)¹ obliged us to moor the frigate head and stern.

As H.M. had deemed proper that an accurate description of the island of *Otaheti* should be noted down, and the duty of preparing it was imposed in the Instructions issued by the Viceroy, the Commander of the Frigate decided

¹ Cf. p. 53, note 3; and vol. I, p. 329, note 2.

that the launch should proceed round the island in order that the Royal Command should be duly complied with. The First Lieutenant of the Frigate, and also myself¹, went off on this service, together with a Master's mate, a serjeant, three marines, and the launch's full crew: we occupied six days on the cruise, and I¹ drew up the following account.

LETTER CCLXXXIII.

Description of Amat's Island.

THE Island of *Otaheti* (to which, in compliment to the Lord Viceroy, we gave the name of AMAT'S Island) is more than forty leagues in circuit. Its shape is almost round; though irregular, in that a break of low land divides it into two unequal peninsulas, leaving a neck two leagues² wide from N.E. to S.W. between the two seas. The greater peninsula lies on the N.W. side of this; and the lesser one [stretches] in the opposite direction. The length from N.W. to S.E. is fourteen leagues³: its central point is situated in latitude $17^{\circ} 30'$ S., and in longitude $233^{\circ} 40'$ from the meridian of Tenerife⁴.

The country is high and mountainous, with no more lowland than the neck which unites the two peninsulas⁵. The mountains are rugged, especially on the S.E. side, and in the northern part; where they form numerous ravines down which course streams of good water. Towards the western side the highlands spread downwards

¹ These words "also myself" and "I drew up," when read with Boenechea's and Bonacorsi's journals, fix the authorship of the present narrative on "the most Revd. missionary father Fr. Joseph Amich." Cf. vol. I, p. 309, and the present vol. p. 49.

² Less than two miles actually, at the narrowest point.

³ The true length from N.W. to S.E. is thirty-two geographical miles, as the crow flies; or thirty-five from reef to reef.

⁴ Cf. p. 52 and vol. I, pp. 12 and 326, note 1.

⁵ See next page, note 2.

with quite a gentle slope; and, being densely wooded along the shore belt and in all the ravines¹, a very pleasing aspect is thus imparted to the tract of coast thereabouts. Although the island is very high it contains many stretches of low and flat land bordering the sea-shore², stocked with innumerable coco-nut palms, plantain-groves, and other fruit-trees.

The island is almost everywhere surrounded by reefs of rocks which, when the tide is low, expose a strip of level strand on which the ocean waves break. In some parts this girdle of reefs lies three miles off shore, in others two miles, in some one mile and even less. There are several separate passages or channels through the reef by which large ships can enter, and which form very good harbours; for within it the bottom is almost everywhere of fine black sand [having] from sixteen to twenty fathoms [water]. But it is necessary to watch your cables, because there are some few rocks, in places. There are many fairly deep waterways inside the encircling reef where thousands of craft may ply; for the sea is always very smooth there, even though there be a strong wind blowing.

There is no regularly laid out town in the island; the natives live near the sea-front in houses constructed of

¹ The mountain masses are covered with dense forest quite to their summits, excepting a few small areas on the W. or N.W. side.

² The belt of fertile level land which extends from the sea-shore to the base of the mountains, around the greater part of Tahiti, forms a notable physiographic feature of the island. It is there that the natives have their dwellings, and most of their fruit-trees and food plantations. This belt varies in width from a few yards to a mile and a half. Its elevation is but ten or a dozen feet above sea level, in most parts; and it is traversed by innumerable streams and rivulets of deliciously cool and pure water from the rifts and gullies in the mountain side above. In a few places the level belt is interrupted by rocky spurs which project quite to the sea-beach and, in the southern portion of *Taiarapu* and at one or two points in *Hitiau*, form cliffs that are washed by the ocean. These obstacles have hindered the completion of the encircling carriage road at those points; and for a distance of fifteen kilometres at the southern extremity it has been abandoned, though the engineering difficulties are not insuperable.

upright posts covered in with palm leaves, exposed ordinarily to the four winds¹: and dotted about amidst the groves of coco-nut palms along the shore belt.

The most thickly populated localities are the District of *Papala*, the District of *Tallarabu*, and the western side where the *arii* Otu resides. Coock says *Bobala* and *Tiarrabu*². The dwellers in this island are not fewer than eight thousand souls of all ages and sexes: there are ten or twelve Caciques, whom they call *Eries*³, and each one rules over the people of his own District; but they all look up to the *arii* Otu as the higher and paramount Chief, and acknowledge themselves his subjects.

The men are generally stout and well set up; most of them are of a mulatto colour. They affect wearing the hair long; it is somewhat frizzly, and they dress it with coco-nut oil. A few of the old Chiefs possess quite venerable beards; the others commonly wear it too, albeit thin and scanty⁴. They usually go nude, concealing their privities by means of a girdle made from bark, a fold of which they pass between the thighs and secure by a turn round the waist⁵, whereby they remain decent though unclothed. The adults have the loins and a portion of the thighs pigmented⁶ with black in various patterns, and some of them pigment the hands and legs symmetrically on both sides: especially so the women, who, in spite of going about exposed to the weather, are remarkably fair

¹ The old style of house in Tahiti was open all round the sides and ends, except where reed or mat screens were let down, as in the case of many houses in Samoa at the present day.

² This short sentence is obviously an intercalation by the editor of *El Viagero Universal*. The correct names of these districts are *Papara* and *Taiarapu*. Tu's own district was *Pare*, now called *Pure-Arue*, in the North.

³ *Arii*. See vol. I, p. 13, note 1. Bonacorsi says eight: cf. p. 58.

⁴ In youth and middle age they practised partial epilation.

⁵ The *maro*, perineal band or breech-clout.

⁶ i.e. tattooed.

in hue. On two occasions a couple of men quite white came on board the Frigate, with blonde hair, reddish beards and eyebrows, and blue eyes¹: the Cacique of *Tallarabu*, where the Frigate lay at anchor, was very fair and ruddy, notwithstanding sunburn.

The women do not present so fine an appearance as the men; like them, though, they are fond of wearing a pendant in [the lobe of] one ear—which they all have pierced—and when nothing better is to hand they stick in a flower or a small fish-bone.

The inhabitants of this island are very complaisant and light of heart. Most of them can play on a sort of flute, perforated with four holes, into which they blow through one nostril while they close the other with a finger². They always play a very doleful air, to the sound of which they chant in the same strain. Their dances are very fantastic, consisting of an endless variety of posturings and wagglings of the body, hands, feet, eyes, lips and tongue³, in which they keep splendid time to the measure⁴. Some deck themselves with garlands of flowers or coronets of black feathers, on gala occasions.

¹ Albinos are not rare. Banks saw five or six [Bibl. no. 10, p. 128].

² One of the best of Sidney Parkinson's drawings represents Tupaea's son Taiota wearing a *tiputa* of plaited hibiscus bast, and playing the *vivo* or nose-flute. But it fails to show the proper position of the boy's thumb, which ought to be compressing one nostril. Cf. Bibl. no. 84, Pl. IX: also Ellis, Bibl. no. 36, vol. I, pp. 284-5: and Banks, *loc. cit.* p. 143.

³ Cf. Parkinson: pp. 24-5 and Pl. VII. "In their heivos [*heiva*] or war-dances, they assume various antic motions and gestures...and make the ephaita [*e faiata*], or wry mouth, as a token of defiance... Their dances are not less singular than their music; for they twist their bodies into many extravagant postures, spread their legs, set their arms a-kimbo, and, at the same time, distort the muscles of their faces, and twist their mouths diagonally, in a manner which none of us could imitate." [Bibl. no. 84.] And cf. Banks's Journal, pp. 144-5 [Bibl. no. 10].

⁴ Polynesians are noted for the wonderfully accurate rhythm of their gestures and the perfect time they keep in their chants, and with their clapping, and their drums.

Their weapons are short spears of hard wood: they have no other arm of defence, although they engage in wars with the people of other islands in reprisal for the raids they are wont to make on one another's produce. When in pursuit of birds they use very slender little arrows fashioned of reeds and tipped with hard-wood points; they also employ bird-lime¹.

The occupations practised by the men are fishing and husbandry. As to the former, whenever the tide is low the reefs are covered with natives collecting shellfish. There are canoes all round the coast, in great number: they are very long and narrow, because there are no trees in the island as much as a *vara* in diameter and therefore the largest canoes are only two-thirds [of a *vara*] in breadth of beam. To give them stability they fit a spar of buoyant wood parallel to the keel, some six spans apart from the hull, and joined to the canoe by means of two light poles firmly lashed across her gunwales. For their voyages, or when going outside the reef to fish, they couple two large canoes together and secure them firmly with spars lashed athwart the two hulls, leaving a space of three-quarters [of a *vara*] between them, as well for sculling in as to provide room for a large basket in which they carry their fishing implements and gear. The hooks they use are formed out of the roots of trees, and they make small ones of pearl-shell. Their fine lines are of human hair deftly plaited, and the coarser ones of the fibre of the coconut palm²: their rigging and running gear are of the same.

The Caciques and Headmen resort to these double canoes as dwelling apartments, for they rig a platform across the two fore bodies, more than two *varas* wide

¹ The balsam or gum of *Metrosideros villosa* (Sm.).

² i.e. of the fibrous pericarp or husk of the nut itself. But their best fishing lines were made of the fibres of a nettle called *roa*—*Pipturus argenteus* (Wedd.). *Hibiscus* bast and the bark of *Ficus tinctoria* (Forst.) supplied others.

and three in length, and over this they construct a very well roofed cuddy [or coach], so that even if it rain heavily the water does not leak through. They sleep in these cuddies even when on shore, for it would seem that they build their houses or arbours to act as shelters for the canoes rather than for their own personal comfort. Some canoes carry a sail of fine matting, measuring as much as seven *varas* in the hoist by two and a half in spread, and set fore-and-aft fashion. These sailing canoes are rendered safe by means of a long pole or spar that they fix athwart the hull abreast of the mast heel, and at the ends of this they belay two ropes that do duty as shrouds, while two others are made fast at the head and stern of the canoe to serve as stays. When the wind is a bit fresh an Indian stations himself at the weather extremity of this 'thwartsip' spar and acts by his own weight as a counterpoise against the pressure of the wind on the sail. All the canoes are very light because they are so slender: their bows are fashioned in the shape of a dolphin's head. The logs out of which they are cut being of small size, they raise on them at the sides with planks so nicely fitted that they look, not like the work of Indians unpossessed of any iron tools, but, rather, like that of highly skilled joiners. They do the same forward and aft. The tools with which they build their canoes are a sort of adze made of little fillets of black stone, very hard, but easy to whet with other stones; and they fit them so perfectly to their hafts of stick that they look just like the tools of a skilled wright. These canoes have no nails whatever, the joins where the gunwale planks are added being laced with sennit made of palm fibre and caulked with the oakum of coco-nut husks: the seams are then payed with stuff like bird-lime that they get from the resin¹ of a certain tree².

¹ The gum-resin of the breadfruit usually.

² The resemblance between this account of canoes and adzes and

The women occupy themselves with plaiting mats out of very fine [strips of] palm leaf, and smocks of the same, and in preparing from the bark of certain trees¹ a kind of white cloth or stuff as delicate as linen or thin taffeta. Some of these pieces of cloth are four *varas* in width and from eight to ten *varas* long. Some are stained yellow, and bright red, in remarkably quaint designs, with dyes extracted from certain roots, herbs, and small fruits². They are accustomed to wrap lengths of this cloth about the body, or round the head after the manner of a turban. Some have a dark brown tinge³, and are the sort that usually serve them for bed screens. Others of them, doubled four or five ply thick and stuck together with some glutinous matter are used as bed coverlets. They brought off stuffs, and wraps, and mats of all these kinds to the Frigate to truck for small knives and other iron knick-knacks; and they also brought quantities of plantains, coco-nuts, and other things on board with the same object.

The diet on which these Islanders customarily support themselves consists of plantains, coco-nuts, fish, and a mash composed of yams, plantains and other fruits pounded very thoroughly together. Of this medley, when some herbs have been added, they form dumplings six or eight inches in diameter, which they cook by the following method. They make a big bonfire in a pit wherein they set a lot of stones; whilst these are getting heated they do up the paste dumplings and everything else that they want to cook, in a quantity of large leaves, and afterwards pack them

that given by Lieut. Cook on the same subject is striking. Cf. the latter's "Description of King George's Island—Manners and Customs" in his *Journal* [Bibl. no. 30].

¹ The paper mulberry chiefly, *Broussonetia papyrifera* (Vent.).

² *Morinda citrifolia* (Linn.), *Cordia subcordata* (Lamk.)—a tree, not a herb, *Ficus tinctoria* (Forst.), and several others.

³ Made from the bark of the breadfruit tree, and *Ficus prolixa* (Forst.). See vol. I, p. 332, with notes 1 to 7; and p. 333, note 1.

into small frails of palm-leaf. As soon as the stones are thoroughly hot they are raked aside from the pit, and they lay the baskets in on the top of the embers; and over these the hot stones [are spread again]. Lastly, they cover in the whole with earth in such wise that no air hole is left anywhere¹. Next day they open it all up, and have thus enough food ready to last them for quite a many days.

A round fruit six inches in diameter which they call *Euru*² serves them for bread: they cook this in the same way, and it eats like an insipid potato. There are also in the island a sort of very tasty chestnut³, and others after the style of very oily walnuts⁴. There is also a breed of small pigs, and there are some fowls. The palms produce a very rich cabbage⁵; but the natives only eat it raw because they have no vessels in which to dress their victuals. Fish, they eat raw⁶ or broiled, or cooked in the way above related: and they do not waste any portion of it, for they consume the guts, gills, and scraps with much heartiness. The island produces no salt whatever, nor do the natives care to eat anything salted or savoury unless driven to it by necessity⁷.

¹ The above is quite a good description of the ordinary *umu* or oven still in use throughout Polynesia at the present day.

² *Uru* is the breadfruit (*Artocarpus incisa*, Linn.) of several varieties. It is now more often called *maiope*, in the Tahitian group of islands.

³ *Ihi* is the fruit of the *mape* or *rata* tree, the Tahitian chestnut, *Inocarpus edulis* (Forst.).

⁴ *Tutui*, the candle-nut, *Aleurites triloba* (Forst.).

⁵ *Palmito* might here be translated either 'cabbage' or 'salad.' It consists of the unexpanded central leaf-bud of the palm, and provides a very delicious vegetable when cut up and dressed (not cooked), but natives do not seem to set much store by it.

⁶ Raw mullet is still a highly popular dish in Tahiti and many other Pacific islands. Even some Europeans residing there learn to like it—or to eat it and say they do, as I have both seen and heard more than once.

⁷ On the contrary, sea-water forms the basis of one or two fluid condiments or relishes in everyday use (*miti*, *miti haari*, *miti hue*).

We did not observe, in these islanders, any proneness to intoxication¹: their besetting vice is lasciviousness. They marry no more than one wife [at a time]; and it would seem that they are nothing jealous, for they make offer of their women to strangers. No noxious or venomous animals were seen in the island, but a vast multitude of very tame rats, which trouble them a good deal and oblige them to devise means² for protecting their eatables against the voracity of these little animals. Although the temperature is hot and humid, neither mosquitos, bats, nor cockroaches³ breed there. Smart rain-showers occur on most days, followed by calm; and then the breeze sets in from seaward⁴.

We could not be sure whether they have any religion ; they certainly had no house of worship, though they appear to observe some sort of idolatry, for they carry certain rudely carved wooden figures on their canoes which represent human forms ; but they in no wise worship them, nor do they resent their being scoffed at by strangers. Their cemeteries are constructed after the manner of small rectangular platforms faced all round with two or three high steps built in with stone. They are ornamented with a number of large wooden effigies—for the most part figures of an obscene character. We learned later (from

¹ They had no fermented drinks, and the use of *ava* (*Piper methysticum*, Forst.) which, though toxic, is non-alcoholic, was restricted to Chiefs. It will be seen from other passages in these volumes that Vehiatua indulged freely, at times ; but it is true that the wine on board the frigate did not appeal to them. It was otherwise with Tu, however, at a later date ; and not Tu alone.

² The Tahitian rat-proof meat-safe is elsewhere described : cf. Boenechea's Journal [vol. I, p. 337].

³ This is not true of Tahiti now, alas ! nor was it as regards mosquitos then. Cf. Rodriguez' Journal : Banks's, &c. Presumably there were also one or more species of fruit bats then as now ; but cockroaches were a later introduction.

⁴ The frigate's visit occurred in the hot, which is also the rainy, season.

the Indians we brought away from the isle of *Otaheti*) that the males observe circumcision when they wish to marry¹, and that they have special Priests charged with the performance of this rite.

We were not able to gain positive knowledge as to whether any foreign ships had been at the island; for no vestiges of [European] wares or implements, which they would naturally have left there, were met with. We only came across an old English axe and the blade of a French knife, of the commonest quality, and one very old oddment of coarse serge; but we gathered that some ships had reached the island, because the natives were acquainted with the preparations and handling [of a vessel] when coming to an anchor, as well as with the effects of cannon and muskets.

We lay here thirty-one days in Port *Aguila*, during which time a spare tiller was made for the rudder out of a tough wood after the fashion of guaiacum. A mizen-topmast and a main-topsail yard were also made. Five launch-loads of ballast were taken in, our water was refilled, and our stock of fire-wood replenished. These two articles exist in abundance throughout the island. On most days during our stay in the harbour a great many canoes came alongside, from this and other islands, with numbers of Indians of all ages and sexes² who brought their cloth, mats, and other curiosities for barter (as well as plantains and coco-nuts) in exchange for knives, looking-glasses, scissors, nails, shirts, and other odds and ends. The Captain of the ship showed them much friendly attention. They came in such numbers that the cabin was constantly

¹ It was a question of age and initiation to manhood, not marriage, that determined the practice.

² The expression ‘all ages and sexes’ occurs repeatedly in these narratives; and no apology seems necessary for rendering it word for word instead of adding the word ‘both’ before ‘sexes.’

thronged with them, and there were days when the Captain and officers were fain to retire below and take their meals in the powder-room, so as to leave the cabin free to the Indians.

After we had waited several days for favourable weather we sailed from Port Magdalena, or *Aguila*¹, on the 20th of December of the same year 1772, with the wind from N.N.E., rather fresh; and on getting a clear league off the land we hove to to await the launch, which had stayed behind in the harbour to recover the kedge that had served us as a holdfast to get under way from. By the time she had come up, and the boats were hoisted in, it was already nightfall; and we proceeded, coasting along the southern side of the island.

We took [with us] four Indians from Amat's Island; the two bigger ones aged about thirty years; another, a lump of a lad of eighteen years, who came by his own wish; and a boy of thirteen years with his father's consent. When they became able to make themselves understood, they gave us several of the pieces of information I have set forth in the description.

As we had heard (though in a vague way) of the many islands that exist in this Ocean, we hove to every night until reaching the latitude of 26° South; and after that we held on our course, experiencing variable weather, without misadventure of any kind. And on the 21st of February 1773, after sighting the Chilean coast about midday, we came to an anchor in the port of Valparaiso at six o'clock in the evening.

We laid in three months' provisions at this port, and a corresponding supply of wood and water. The sick were got on shore, where two of them died of malignant

¹ Miscalled "Langara's Harbour" on the chart of Tahiti in the published narrative of the *Duff's* voyage [Bibl. no. 96, p. 185] and so copied in several later works.

calentures. One of the Indians of Amat's Island likewise died at this place, from indigestion on which malignant calenture supervened.

After waiting some days for favourable weather we sailed from the port of Valparaiso, at two o'clock in the afternoon of the 2nd of April in the same year 1773, in order to carry out the second part of our commission as directed by the Viceroy—that is, the examination in detail of Davis's or *San Carlos* Island. We put to sea with the wind at W., hauling into the S.W. and S. after we cleared the Bay; and we steered N.W., to reach the latitude of the said island.

On the 7th of the same month, at daybreak, one of the isles of *San Felix* was in sight away to the nor'ard, distant a matter of eight leagues: it is small but very high. According to the reckoning I worked out this island lies in lat. $26^{\circ} 33'$ South, and in long. $295^{\circ} 20'$ from the meridian of Tenerife; and bears N.W. 5° W., 203 leagues distant, from the port of Valparaiso.

On the 15th of the same month, at daybreak, a vessel was seen to the N.W. of us making a southerly course; and after heading towards her we spoke her, and she proved to be the merchant ship *Valvaneda* bound for Valparaiso, having sailed from El Callao on the 29th of March last past.

After meeting with variable winds and being buffeted almost all the time by a swell from the S.W., we found on the 22nd of April (the wind having hung in the N. for the six preceding days, blowing strong at times) that the Frigate was making a considerable deal of water—a thing we had not experienced before in all the voyage; and, when the vessel's hold had been explored as far as was practicable, no indication was found to show whereabouts the leak might be supposed to exist. On the morning of the 23rd the Captain discussed the Frigate's condition with

the combatant officers, and the carpenters and caulkers were called in to the consultation. The result of it was that it was decided to bear up for El Callao, where the Viceroy could arrange for the examination to be undertaken at a more opportune time. For, seeing there is no shelter whatever at the isle of *San Carlos* from northerly winds, such as we had found to prevail in its neighbourhood with so much constancy (we reckoned ourselves then to be 188 leagues to the E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.E. of the island), it was our duty to give heed to the advance of winter, when we should be running great risk of disaster from the bad and wholly insecure anchorage at that place. We accordingly bore up and steered to the E. to fall in with the mainland.

We sailed on with variable winds and weather, and at sunrise on the 28th of May the highlands of Atico were in sight. We continued our course for the port of El Callao, where we came to an anchor on the 31st of May, at three o'clock in the afternoon.



ma: de Órden del Ex:^{mo} Señor: D^r Manuel de Amat
es Ex:^{to} Gov^{or} y Capⁿ Gen^l de éstos Reynos S^a S^a



JOURNALS AND DESPATCHES
(with Enclosures)

TELLING OF THE *AGUILA'S* SECOND VOYAGE
TO TAHITI,

WITH THE STORE-SHIP *JUPITER* UNDER CONVOY;

FOLLOWED BY

THE MISSIONARY FRIARS' DIARY OF EVENTS,

SHEWING HOW THEY FARED THEREAFTER:

1774-5.



DESPATCH

[from the Viceroy of Peru to the Secretary of State for the Indies].

No. 1016.

Most Excellent Señor,

Gives an account of the two vessels he has despatched from the port of El Callao, bound for the Islands newly discovered, and conveying Clerics furnished with the outfit specified on the accompanying invoice, in pursuance of the Royal Commands he cites.

In pursuance of the two Royal Commands of the 26th of October, 1773¹, I arranged for the despatch of His Majesty's Frigate the *Aguila* from the port of El Callao, under the command of Captain Don

Domingo de Boenechea and navi-

gated by the pilot Don Juan de Ervè², bound for the Island of *Otaheyte* and others lately discovered. They carried with them, besides the usual complement of marines, two Franciscan friars of the Ocopa Missions³, furnished

¹ See vol. I, p. 346.

² Ervè is the same, of course, as Hervé: the *h* in Spanish is not aspirated. The accent like all in these MSS., was written grave—a form now never employed. He is here styled *el piloto práctico*.

³ The missionary college of Santa Rosa at S^a Maria de Ocopa was founded by Dⁿ Francisco de San José, a Franciscan of Burgos who went to Mexico as a missionary in 1694, and passed from thence, in 1708, to Lima. Having gained a wide experience during his life and work amongst native races, he memorialised the King (Don Felipe V) in 1718 on the subject of establishing a college for the purpose of affording special and suitable training to candidates for missionary service. In reply he obtained a very favourable decree, in consequence of which, and with the approval of the Viceroy, he proceeded notwithstanding his advanced age with the necessary buildings at Ocopa, situated in the rugged and romantic vale of the upper Jauja, amidst the mountains to the northward of Lima, between the eastern and western chains of the Cordillera, where the great Marañon river takes its rise, to afterwards join the Ucayali and other streams and merge into the Amazon. He succeeded in founding the college in 1724, and it was dedicated to Santa Rosa, the virgin patron saint of Lima and all Peru. Fr. Francisco died twelve years later, too soon to see

with supplies as shown in the accompanying invoice¹, and with the necessary Instructions in regard to what is expected of them in obedience to the Royal will as signified in the Commands above cited. She also received on board the two surviving Indians of the four who came up in her: these go back well informed and instructed, and grateful for the good treatment meted out to them. From the indications they have given by their conduct, and the manner in which they bore themselves here, there should be good reason to expect that these neophytes will prove of much assistance to the missionaries, not only by guiding them to a knowledge of the language now that they have themselves gained a moderate insight into Spanish, but also in regard to other kindred matters in which they have given sufficient evidence and proofs of a fair competence.

I also sent out with the Frigate a small bark² which I had to charter from among the oversea traders, as it was considered indispensably necessary for conducting with

his undertaking launched in the full success that later on rewarded its beginnings; but in 1758 Pope Clement XIII gave to it the status of a *Colegio de Propaganda Fide*.

About the time of the *Aguila's* expeditions to Tahiti the *Guardián* (abbot or principal) of the college was a certain *Padre Fr. Pedro González de Agüeros*, a member of the Franciscan Order of Old Castile, who subsequently returned to Madrid and became Commisary there for his Order in Peru. He published, in 1791, a volume [Bibl. no. 48] containing a historical description of Chiloé, and a garbled account of the *Aguila's* second mission in which Gayangos and Andía y Varela are confused the one with the other, and so are their journals. Some particulars about the book are given in vol. I of the present work, Introduction, pp. xxxvi-vii.

Accounts of the labours and sufferings of some of the Ocopa friars were written by Fr. José Amich [Bibl. no. 3] who sailed in the *Aguila*, but were not printed until 1854; and by Fr. Manuel Sobreviela, a cleric of great worth, who was *Guardián* of the college about 1788.

¹ See the enclosure. The word here rendered "invoice" is *empaque*, for which there appears to be no exact equivalent in English. It suggests either 'pack,' 'equipment,' 'consignment,' 'inventory' or 'list.' But "invoice" (properly *factura* in Spanish) seems to fit the document here in question quite as well as 'inventory,' which has its literal synonym in *inventario*.

² *Pequeño barco*—the *Júpiter*. For the journal of her master and owner, Don José de Andía y Varela, see a later page in this volume.

safety the examination and survey of harbours where soundings could not be taken by larger ships without obvious risk, such as that to which the above-named Frigate was exposed on the previous voyage. Both vessels go well manned¹ and equipped, and provided with everything necessary for bringing the voyage to a successful issue within a short time, of which I have the greater hopes by virtue of the practical knowledge possessed by the officers and a large portion of the crew to whom the expedition has been entrusted; concerning the results of all of which I will submit advices in due course.

May Our Lord preserve Your Excellency for many years. Lima: 22nd of September, 1774.

Most Excellent Señor,

Your most humble, respectful, and faithful Servant kisses Your Excellency's hand,

MANUEL DE AMAT.

To the Most Exct^t S^r Bo Fr. Dⁿ Julian de Arriaga.

Enclosure.

GENERAL INVOICE of all the Utensils, provisions, and other outfit supplied through the Department of Temporalities of the Jesuits, in pursuance of a decree issued by the Executive on the 5th of July of the present year, for the maintenance of the clerics Fr. Geronimo Clota and Fr. Narciso Gonzalez, Apostolic missionary priests of the *Propaganda Fide*, from the college of Sta Rosa de Ocopa, and for the use of the marine acting as Interpreter, and the two natives of the Island of AMAT (alias *Otaheti*), for the period of one year; besides what relates to the portable altar, vestments &c.: showing the contents of each

¹ *Armados*—which may signify either manned, armed, or fitted out.

package separately opposite the marks and numbers [quoted] in the margin.....*To Wit*—

M R }

Rice	{	No. 1 ... 1 Cask of rice, with 2 ... 1 do. <i>id.</i>	7 @ 19 lbs.	}	making
		3 ... 1 do. <i>cocacho beans</i> ² „	7 @ 13 lbs.	}	<i>id.</i>
Beans	{	4 ... 1 do. <i>id.</i>	7 15		
		5 ... 1 do. <i>id.</i>	6 17	}	21 @ 20 lbs.
Chick	{	6 ... 1 do. chick peas, with	7 @ 21 lbs.	}	<i>id.</i>
peas	{	7 ... 1 do. <i>id.</i>	7 12		
		8 ... 1 do. <i>id.</i>	4 8	}	19 @ 16 lbs.
Lentils	{	9 ... 1 do. lentils, with	7 @ 9 lbs.	}	<i>id.</i>
		10 ... 1 do. <i>id.</i>	7 9	}	14 @ 18 lbs.
Quinua	{	11 ... 1 do. <i>Quinua</i> ³ , with	6 @ 9 lbs.	}	<i>id.</i>
		12 ... 1 do. <i>id.</i>	6 17		
Pallares	{	Additional, enclosed in no. 8	3 8	}	16 @ 9 lbs.
		13 ... 1 do. of <i>Pallares</i> ⁴ with	7 @ 2 lbs.	}	<i>id.</i>
		14 ... 1 do. <i>id.</i>	7		
		15 ... 1 do. <i>id.</i>	6 21	}	20 @ 23 lbs.
		16 ... 1 Barrel of cabin biscuit	5 @	}	
		17 ... 1 do. <i>id.</i>	5		
		18 ... 1 do. <i>id.</i>	4 24		
		19 ... 1 do. <i>id.</i>	4 21		
		20 ... 1 do. <i>id.</i>	2 21		
		21 ... 1 do. <i>id.</i>	2 23		
		22 ... 1 do. <i>id.</i>	2 24		making
		23 ... 1 do. <i>id.</i>	3 25		12 quintals ⁵
		24 ... 1 do. <i>id.</i>	2 21		and 20 lbs.
		25 ... 1 do. <i>id.</i>	2 21		
		26 ... 1 do. <i>id.</i>	2 12		
		27 ... 1 do. <i>id.</i>	3		
		28 ... 1 do. <i>id.</i>	3		
		29 ... 1 do. <i>id.</i>	3 1		

¹ @ stands for *arrobas*: the *arroba* contained 25 Spanish *libras*.

² *Cocacho* beans are a black sort of French bean, very hard if insufficiently boiled.

³ *Quinua* or *quinoa* (*Chenopodium quinua*, Linn.) is a cereal cultivated at great elevations in the Andes. The grain is somewhat lentil shaped, and very white, reminding one of rice, but smaller. Boiled like rice it forms a pleasant but somewhat insipid nourishment. The farinaceous endosperm is ground into flour. *Vide Cièza de Leon, Lasso, Velasco, Ulloa, Frezier, Markham and others.*

⁴ A kind of French bean (*Phaseolus pallar*) grown in Peru. Like *quinua*, the word is of Quechuan origin. Acosta (Lib. IV, cap. xix) mentions "pulses, which the Indians use such as those they call *Frisoles* and *Pallares*, which serve them as our lentils, beanes, or tares."

⁵ A *quintal* contained four *arrobas*, equal to about 46 kilograms.

No.	30 ... 1	Barrel of hard biscuit	7 @	2 lbs.	
31 ... 1	do.	<i>id.</i>	8	2	
32 ... 1	do.	<i>id.</i>	6	10	making
33 ... 1	do.	<i>id.</i>	9	11	
34 ... 1	do.	<i>id.</i>	4	13	
Wheaten flour 35 ... 1 Barrel of wheaten flour for wafers, with 4 @ 8 lbs.					
Sugar	{ 36 ... 1	do. of } sugar, with 8 @.			
	{ 37 ... 1	do. of }			
Shelled maize	{ 38 ... 1	do. of shelled maize, with 4 @.			
	{ 39 ... 1	do. <i>id.</i>	4	16 lbs.	16 @ 3 lbs.
maize	{ 40 ... 1	do. <i>id.</i>	3	12	making
	{ 41 ... 1	do. <i>id.</i>	4		3 <i>fanegus</i> ¹
Maize flour	{ 42 ... 1	do. of maize flour, with 7 @ 23 lbs.			12 @
	{ 43 ... 1	do. <i>id.</i>	4	2	making
					2 <i>fanegas</i>
Chocolate	{ 44 ... 1	Case of chocolate, with 3 @ 5			making
Capsicums	{ 45 ... 1	Sack of capsicums, with 5			
Axes, cutlasses and lead	{ 46 ... 1	Case containing the following :—to wit,			
		10 Woodman's axes			
		4 Cutlasses ² , sharpened			
		3 @ 16 lbs. of lead.			
Sieves and sickles	47 ... 1	Case contg 3 sieves and 6 sickles.			
Medicines	48 ... 1	Chest of medicines.			
Sherbets	49 ... 1	do. of sherbets.			
Tallow dips	{ 50 ... 1	Box } of tallow dips.			
	{ 51 ... 1	do. }			
	52 ... 1	Case contg the following :—to wit,			
25 lbs. of wax candles		2 gimlets			
1 small bag of 4 lbs of pepper		2 tin platelets for wine-vessels			
2 large <i>lignum vitae</i> spoons		2 large paring chisels			
2 small do.		4 small <i>id.</i>			
2 iron snuffers		8 gouges, assorted sizes, making			
1 bundle of talc panels		a set			
1 lantern of tin-plate, with small glass panels		1 mortice chisel			
3 augurs of medium size		2 planes			
3 id. smaller		1 iron ladle or skimmer			
	53 ... 1	Box of 4 @ of soap.			
	54 ... 1	do. contg the following :—to wit,			
2 small hoes		4 <i>id.</i> of earthenware			
3 iron pots with copper lids		2 bronze candlesticks			
18 small tin plates		2 medium-sized copper stew-pans, tinned			
1 tin basin		2 tin funnels			
2 small copper kettles		2 gridirons			
1 wafer-iron		2 frying-pans, tinned, with handles			

¹ A *fanega* of grain was equal to 55·5 litres. There was another *fanega*, a measure of land, which varied in different Provinces.

² *Machetes*: either cutlasses or long plantation knives.

1 copper pan	I pestle and mortar all of bronze
1 <i>id.</i> pipkin	I copper pipkin, not tinned
2 wooden bowls	I small kettle, not tinned
2 small boxes of thread	I <i>id.</i> very small, tinned

No. 55 ... 1 Case cont ^g the following :—	
2 ammunition pouches, stocked	4 hatchets
2 large frying-pans, with lip, tinned	3 tin dishes
1 small do., tinned	3 <i>id.</i> very small

56 ... 1 Jar of oil for table use, with 12½ lbs.	12 jars with 150 lbs.
57 ... 1 do. <i>id.</i>	
58 ... 1 do. <i>id.</i>	
59 ... 1 do. <i>id.</i>	
60 ... 1 do. <i>id.</i>	
61 ... 1 do. <i>id.</i>	
62 ... 1 do. <i>id.</i>	
63 ... 1 do. <i>id.</i>	
64 ... 1 do. <i>id.</i>	
65 ... 1 do. <i>id.</i>	
66 ... 1 do. <i>id.</i>	
67 ... 1 do. <i>id.</i>	
68 ...	72 ...
69 ... { 4 Jars of honey	73 ...
70 ... } 74 ...	6 jars of wine
71 ... } 75 ...	
78 ... } 2 do. of brandy	76 ...
79 ... } 77 ...	
80 ... 1 do. of vinegar	
81 ... 1 rough case of 300 rockets	

82 ... 1 Case with a whetstone : and the following :—

- 1 small bell
- 4 doz. German knives, narrow blades
- 2 doz. scissors, and 4 girdles
- 2000 sail needles

83	87	... 2 Barrels with 211 lbs.
84	88	of hog's lard
85	89	... 2 do. with 14 @ 15 lbs.
86	90	of bacon

Salt...8 blocks of salt

91) ... 2 large chests the Missionaries take cont^g the following :—
92)

1 new missal : 1 manual, in Latin : 2 manuals for Indians,
with canon, gospel, and *Lavabo* : 2 pairs of crystal wine-vessels :
2 crystal goblets : 1 altar bell : 1 feather plume : 2 vestry
towels: 1 tongs for holding wafers: 1 small packet of *Tallado*¹:
1 Nebrija's vocabulary²: 3 blank MS. books: 1 gross of
rosaries: $\frac{1}{2}$ gross medallions: $\frac{1}{2}$ gross of crosses: 2 sunshades:
1 small box with 3 phials of holy oils and chrism : 1 hand
crucifix : gauze, for baptism

For the Chapel

¹ Wafers, ready cut. One copy has *tellado*.

² A well-known Latin and Spanish dictionary [Bibl. no. 79].

2 cassocks	2 coverlets, cotton
2 hoods	2 prayer desks
2 tunics	1 kit bag
2 cloaks	1 shaving case and basin
2 waist cords	6 lbs. of snuff
6 drawers [pairs of]	50 lbs. of tobacco in leaf
6 prs. of sandals	1 ink horn, and ink in powder
6 pocket-handkerchiefs	1 quill-pen knife
2 mattresses	1 ream of paper
4 flannel sheets	2 tin-plate chamber-pots
2 pillows	2 sets of table cutlery in 2 cases
4 pillow-cases	1 telescope
2 hand towels	1 mariner's compass
2 bed curtains	
2 crystal salt cellars	4 hand towels
1 oil and vinegar cruet	8 ounces of cinnamon
6 earthenware cups	2 do. of cloves
4 do. jugs	4 do. of allspice
3 table-cloths	1 bundle of matches
8 serviettes	2 copper saucepans
4 shirts	
4 sheets	
4 yards of linen for bandages	
1 hand-mill for grinding grain	1 jointer and irons
2 small claw-hammers	1 rebate plane and irons
2 medium saws	2 yards of white flannel for straining wine
1 hand-saw	3 skins of black cordovan ¹
4 augurs	2 do. of sole leather
1 jack-plane	awl ² s, and pita ³ yarn
1 smoothing plane	

For the missionary Padres

For the Refectory

No. 93 ... 1 Chest contg^r 18 glass flasks with 60 lbs. of fine gunpowder.
 No. 94 ... 1 Case of nails : and 6 @ of battens, quartering, scantling,
 boards, and rafters. 1 bar of iron, of 20 lbs.

Clock ... 1 time-piece for the table, with its bell.

Item ... 1 large wooden Cross, of 3½ varas : with this inscription—

CHRISTUS VINZIT⁴: CARLUS III IMPERIT: 1774.

*In the MEDICINE CHEST, no. 48, the missionary Padres take
 with them the following medicines.*

[Here follows, in the MS., a list of seventy-five drugs, chemicals and preparations, in quantities from 2 oz. to 8 oz. each, including among the rest four sorts of Syrups, five Oils, five Balsams, eight Ointments, and twelve Plasters : with the following Sundries— 1 syringe, 1 iron spatula, 1 set of scales and weights, 25 small glass phials, 20 gallipots, 1 mortar, 1 pill or ointment slab, 1 copper pipkin, 1 large and 1 small kettle, 1 lb. of tea, and 1 lb. of lint.—ED.]

¹ Leather of tanned goat-skin.

² Number not quoted.

³ Fibre of *Agave americana*.

⁴ VENCIT in one copy.

In the MEDICINE CHEST, no. 49, they take the following sherbets.

2 bottles of Sherbet of <i>agriz</i> with 13 lbs.
2 do. of " cherries with 13 lbs.
2 do. of " lemon with 13 lbs.
2 do. of " pomegranate with 13 lbs.
4 do. of " lemon juice with 26 lbs.

Oratory, or Portable Altar,

comprising, to wit:—

1 Portable altar in the form of a chest with its hinges, hasps, lock, key, and handles; measuring, when opened out as intended, 2½ varas in width, 1½ in height, with corresponding table-top of 2½ varas, for mass; draped with crimson satin picked out with dark violet flowers.

1 Picture of Our Lady of Monserrate, painted in oils, on canvas
2 Bronze laminae of the Apostles St James and St Anthony, in gilt frames, glazed.

1 Crucifix; the figure in bronze on an ebony cross and pedestal, with clamps likewise of bronze.

1 Silver chalice and paten, gilt inside and out.

1 new missal, with [pictures of] saints of the Seraphic Order.

1 Super-Altar stone, cased in linen cerecloth.

1 Brass sacring bell.

2 Eight-branched candlesticks of the same.

2 Pairs of glass wine-vessels, with tin trays to stand on.

1 Silver ciborium, gilt inside, with cover, for forming, and conveying the Viaticum.

1 Cedar-wood altar-desk, for missal.

3 Silver ampullae for holy oils and chrism, new, three pieces in a small box.

1 Altar frontal in crimson and white Persienne with fringe of yellow silk.

Vestments and white Linen.

1 Choir cope of plain blue satin, lined with silk of the same colour, used.

1 Chasuble of violet Persienne with variegated flowers, lined with pale crimson taffeta, in good condition, with fringe of common quality gold, and stole, girdle, amice, veil for chalice, and corporals-burse.

1 new do. of black flowered silk.

1 do. white, reversible, with imitation gold fringe.

1 do. crimson flowered silk, with silver fringe, new.

1 do. green, with gold fringe: and all of them with their corresponding habiliments.

1 Alb of fine linen, with lace trimmings, in good condition, used already.
 1 do. of the same, new, with wide lace.
 2 Altar cloths, of fine linen, new; one with lace edging and the other with lace insertion.
 1 Linen surplice, new.
 4 Amices, new, of the same.
 6 Corporals, of plain lawn.
 12 Purificators, in good condition, used.
 6 Side altar-cloths.
 4 White linen napkins.
 3 Stuff do.
 1 Veil for placing over the Host, of lead covered with fine linen.
 1 Blank MS. book for a missal for the burial service.
 4 White cotton girdles, braided.

Lima, Sept^r 17, 1774.

Christobal Franz^{co} Rodríguez.

*We have received a true and exact copy of the foregoing General Invoice by which to check the contents of the several packages referred to, when we arrive at our destination, they being at this present date on board His Maj^y frigate the *Aguila* in the care of D^r Domingo Bonechea, her Captain Commandant, who has been furnished with another similar copy for his own use and reference. Lima: 17th Sept^r 1774.*

Jr. Geronimo Clota Jr. Narciso González.

The above is a true and exact copy of the two originals prepared when the frigate *Aguila* was about to sail for her destination: it is the same in all respects as the one delivered to the missionary *Padres* and the Captain Commandant for their guidance.

Department of Temporalities: Lima, 27 October 1774.

Christobal Franz^{co} Rodríguez.

DESPATCH

[from the Viceroy of Peru to the Secretary of State for the Indies].

No. 1121.

Most Excellent Señor,

Announcing the return of H.M.'s Frigate the *Aguila*, which had been despatched for the exploration and succour of *Otaheti* and other islands recently discovered : and advising the consignment of a box of Plans, Journals, and samples of products peculiar to the said island.

His Majesty's Frigate the *Aguila* has just dropped anchor in the harbour of El Callao, from which she had sailed bound for the Island of *Otaheti* and others newly discovered, as related in my despatches no. 1016¹ of the 22nd of September

1774, and no. 1068² of the 9th of January of the present year.

The licensed regular trader *Hercules* being on the point of sailing, I am left no time in which to make myself acquainted with the particulars of the *Aguila*'s expedition, nor with any further intelligence I would fain have communicated in detail for Your Excellency's and His Majesty's information ; and therefore, in order neither to postpone the transmission of the Journals and Maps nor to delay the ship, I confine myself to forwarding the box containing them together with the specimens and industrial manufactures from those islands, exactly as I have received them³.

¹ See p. 92.

² See p. 1.

³ This passage accounts for Gayangos' journal not figuring as an

Don Domingo Bonechea having succumbed at the above-named island, on the 26th of January of this year, Don Thomas Gayangos thereupon assumed command of the said Frigate.

I shall take care to acquaint Your Excellency with what progress may be made in the future from the accounts I shall get from the officers, and from two more Islanders who, of their own free will, came up in the Frigate; and will give you full advice thereof by the first favourable opportunity¹.

May Our Lord preserve Your Excellency many years.
Lima: 10th of April, 1775.

Most Excellent Señor,

Your most humble, respectful and obedient Servant
kisses Your Excellency's hand.

MANUEL DE AMAT.

To the Most Exct S^r B^o Fr. Don Juan de Arriaga.

enclosure with the despatch. The journal is, in point of fact, docketed "*Remitido sin carta*"—forwarded without [covering] letter.

A quantity of Tahitian cloth and some other articles of native use and workmanship, now in the ethnological section of the *Museo Nacional* at Madrid, appear to be a part of this very consignment.

As this despatch was signed three days before the *Jupiter* reached El Callao it contains no mention of Andía y Varela's journal.

¹ His Excellency, who was doubtless pre-occupied with many weighty matters, and affairs of State, owing to his approaching retirement from office, never fulfilled this promise: which is much to be regretted. Don Manuel's statement which occurs in his Recital (vol. I, p. 14) to the effect that he did so report must therefore be held to relate to the above brief announcement, no. 1121; for certainly no later despatch from him on this subject has come to light, after repeated search, nor is there any entry of one in his official Index of Despatches

THE OFFICIAL JOURNAL

OF

THE SECOND VOYAGE OF THE FRIGATE *AGUILA*

FROM EL CALLAO TO TAHITI
AND THE ISLANDS NEAR-BY,
AND BACK TO EL CALLAO:

1774-5.

Signed by Lieut.-Commander Don Thomas Gayangos.

SUBDIVISIONS OF THIS JOURNAL.

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[The MS. of this journal from which the present translation has been made is the original one, bearing Gayangos' autograph signature and rubric, sent home by the Viceroy as stated in his despatch no. 1121. It is preserved in the *Archivo General de Indias* at Sevilla, in *Est. 112-Caj. 4-Leg. 11*, with other documents relating to the expeditions conducted in the same frigate, and in the *San Lorenzo* with the *Santa Rosalía* [Bibl. no. MSS. 3]. It is closely, but neatly and legibly written on the usual hand-made water-marked paper of the period; and comprises thirty folios in all, fscp. size, including on one leaf the original Declaration of Allegiance or Deed of Convention written and signed by the *Contador*, Don Pedro Freyre de Andrade, and three blank leaves.

In 1778 a copy of the complete document was made at Madrid (from the original) by order of Don Josef de Galvez, who had succeeded Don Julian de Arriaga as Secretary of State for the Indies on the death of the latter early in 1776. This copy was officially attested on the 12th of March in the year above mentioned, by Don Manuel Josef de Ayala; and is now in the library of the *Real Academia de la Historia*, vol. D. 91, ff. 376-444 at Madrid [Bibl. no. MSS. 14].—ED.]

JOURNAL OF THE VOYAGE

made, by Order of *HIS MAJESTY* communicated through the Most Excellent Señor Don MANUEL DE AMAT Y JUNIENT, Knight of the Royal Order of Saint Januarius, and of that of Saint John, Viceroy, Governor, and Commander-in-Chief of the Realms of Peru and Chile, by Captain Don DOMINGO DE BOENECHEA commanding the Frigate *Santa Maria Magdalena* (alias *Aguila*) and the Storeship *Jupiter* to the Island of AMAT and those lying near-by: for the purpose of restoring to their own country the two natives Pautu and Tetuanui, furnished with an assortment of tools, and of conveying two missionary *Padres* of the Seraphic Order to make a beginning of preaching the Holy Gospel, together with a wooden house for their homestead, cattle and seeds of various kinds, and numerous implements suitable for agriculture:—submitted by Senior Lieutenant Don THOMAS GAYANGOS, appointed to the same Frigate.

WE SAILED from the port of El Callao on the afternoon of the 20th of September, 1774, with a favourable wind, the storeship being in company with us, and steered W. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.W.¹ so as to be ware of the *Hormigas* bank; and at 6 in the morning of the following day we bore away on our course.

¹ Equivalent to W. by S. as we express it. For remarks on the Spanish method of boxing the compass the reader may consult the Introduction (vol. I, p. lxiii).

On the 25th the commander of the storeship was signalled to repair on board of us; and, his vessel proving such a slow sailer that it was evident the commission would suffer delay through her, he was directed to adopt the best means he could for reducing his crew's rations in such wise that they should serve for seven months or longer, in place of only six. We in the Frigate conformed to the same arrangement.

During the night of the 5th of October we lost sight of the storeship, in spite of having shortened sail as much as was practicable; for there was no doubt that what prevented her from keeping up with us was the roughness of the sea, and the fresh breeze blowing from the S. and E.S.E.¹. Finding that she did not again come within sight, we proceeded under easy canvas until the 8th, when it became necessary to alter our course somewhat in order to keep to the prescribed track, and we accordingly made all sail and steered for the Island of *Todos Santos*².

On the 16th of the same two small birds, apparently land birds, were seen; and one of them was caught, on board. Its colour was like that of a partridge, and its size about equal to a curlew; the tail and wings were rounded, the feet black and open³, and it had a red beak. We inferred from this that we were in the vicinity of some island.

On the 17th an observation of the sun placed us in lat. $17^{\circ} 27'$ S. and, keeping in mind the fact that they found the Variation to be $2^{\circ} 53'$ N.E.^{ly} when in this same latitude on the previous voyage, at the longitude of $265^{\circ} 23'$, and that they found it to be $2^{\circ} 52'$ [on that occasion] when in long. $258^{\circ} 7'$, we concluded from these two data that

¹ This is apparently intended to mean S.S.E. and E.S.E.

² i.e. *Anaa*, otherwise called Chain Island—which was the appointed rendezvous with the storeship in case of separation.

³ *Haviertos* (open) here means not webbed.

there is no Variation of the needle in that latitude at long. $262^{\circ} 42'$. In the present voyage, in the same latitude and at long. $267^{\circ} 33'$ we noted $41'$ of Variation N.E^{ly}, and in the longitude of $260^{\circ} 35'$ we found $34'$, which would point to $261^{\circ} 6'$ as the meridian about which there is no Variation. But, taking the difference between all four of these data [as a basis for calculation] the result gives the position of *nil* Variation as in lat. $17^{\circ} 30'$ S. and long. $261^{\circ} 24'$ ¹. In the course of the voyage performed by His Majesty's ship the *San Lorenzo* in the year 1770 to *San Carlos* Island the needle was found to show no Variation in lat. 29° S., long. $262^{\circ} 25'$: from all of which one may conclude that the line of [*nil*] Variation swerves but little from a direction N. and S.²

On the 26th, when in lat. $17^{\circ} 36'$ S. and long. $246^{\circ} 21'$, a small gull was caught on board, black with ashen coloured head, and web-footed. Some boobies and boatswain-birds³ were also seen, and a number of *dorados* and flying-fish: as well as a chunk of wood about a *vara* in length.

On the 28th birds were seen in greater plenty than on the foregoing days, and among them several of those we had noticed during the previous voyage before sighting the isle of *San Simon*: consequently we kept a good look-out and took every precaution during the night-time.

On the 29th, at three in the afternoon, while pursuing our course with a moderate breeze an island hove in sight,

¹ One reading has $267^{\circ} 24'$, but it is clear from the next sentence that $261^{\circ} 24'$ was intended. Nothing is easier than to mistake an eighteenth century Spanish figure 1 for a 7.

² These figures agree only moderately well with Capt. Cook's observations in 1774; but the local area of least magnetic deviation is now some 30° or 32° farther West and slightly North of the equator, trending in an E. and W. direction; while, at the point where Gayangos says they in the *San Lorenzo* found it *nil* in 1770 it was $12\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ E^{ly} in 1895, as shown on the most modern Admiralty chart (3258).

³ *Rabijuncos*—lit. ‘Rush-tails,’ or *Paille-en-cul*, i.e. the tropic- or boatswain-bird, *Phaeton aethereus*, and *P. rubricauda*.

the middle part of which bore W.N.W. 5° W. from us, distant from 4 to 5 leagues. At half-past four, having assured ourselves that there would not remain enough daylight for us to reconnoitre the island, we shortened sail and hauled our wind, with our head to the south'ard, that we might pass the night making short boards and keep the weather gauge of the land. At dawn next morning¹ it lay from 3 to 4 leagues off; and, making all sail to come up with it, we stood on until we got within a moderate distance—less than a league—and could see seven or eight natives on the beach, who followed along in the same direction as the Frigate, and carried long staves² in their hands. When we had passed from the N. to its western side and taken note of its extent to the eastward, and observed that it was everywhere hemmed in by a reef, and that the greater portion of its interior consisted of a lagoon, we proceeded on our course: being careful to lie to at night in order to avoid meeting with any island or shoal.

This one last mentioned is situated in lat. $17^{\circ} 26'$ S. and long. $243^{\circ} 43'$, being low and encircled by a reef with a lagoon in the centre; and it is well covered with trees, among which were distinguished coco-nuts and plantains. Its natives look to be of more than medium stature, very swarthy in hue³, and go naked. The name of *San Narciso*,

¹ Cf. Andía y Varela's journal of even date.

² *Palos*. See vol. I, p. 287, note 1. What is there said with reference to *vara* applies in a measure to *palo*; but the latter is rendered stick, stave, cudgel, or bludgeon, where it seems to indicate that the object was really a native's club. These may have been spears, of course.

³ The natives of these "half-drowned" pelagic atolls, living entirely in the open air, wearing no clothing but the *maro*, constantly exposed by their avocations, not merely to the direct rays of the tropical sun but to the fierce reflected rays from the all-pervading ocean, are much darker-skinned than most of the people of the more sheltering forest-clad islands of igneous formation in central Polynesia; but this observation does not apply as against the islanders farther West, where Melanesian influences prevail. In 1826 Beechey found the natives of Serle Island, which lies next to *San Narciso*, as "of the same dark

the saint of the day, was given to it: its form and extent will be seen on the plan of it¹.

On the 31st of the same [month], at sunrise, the Variation was found to be $7^{\circ} 30'$ N.E.^{ly}. Several small white birds² were seen settled on the water. At 11 in the forenoon we discovered the isle of *San Simon*³ right ahead, at four leagues' distance. The sun was observed at midday in lat. $17^{\circ} 28'$, and by the bearings and distance noted the middle part of the island lay in lat. $17^{\circ} 27'$ S. and long. $239^{\circ} 50'$; which is nine and a half leagues farther West than the position assigned to it on the previous voyage. We coasted along its southern shore at a distance of a mile off, watched by its inhabitants, who kept following us along the reef. This island and that of *San Narciso* lie West and East from each other, distant 55 leagues⁴.

At three in the afternoon we resumed our course towards the position of the isle of *San Quintin*; and at a quarter before noon the next day two islands were sighted from the fore-top, one of them bearing S.S.W. and the other one W.N.W. from us. We continued our course until one in the afternoon, when it was altered to W.N.W. to approach the island we marked down on that

swarthy colour with those of Clermont Tonnerre"—the next one to it—whom he compares in hue to the New Caledonians [Bibl. no. 16]; and in 1839 Wilkes remarked the dark hue of the natives of the Disappointment Islands of Byron.

Dr Lesson, in his *Voyage médical* (Paris, 1829, p. 168) writes of the *Océaniens*, "La couleur de la peau est d'un jaune clair, plus foncé chez les naturels habitués à chercher sur les coraux leur moyens de subsistance."

¹ No plan of *San Narciso* by Hervé has come to my notice, but it seems there may be one in the *Depósito Hidrográfico*. The best chart of this island is to be found in Duperrey's Atlas [Bibl. no. 35 bis: sheet 3], drawn from a survey by his officer Lottin.

² Terns probably.

³ *Tauere*, called "Resolution" island by Cook. See vol. I, pp. 286-7, note 2 and Plan.

⁴ The bearing given is the true one—the parallel of $17^{\circ} 20'$ touches both of these islands; but they are as much as 180 miles apart.

bearing; but, observing the current to be setting with great force towards the reef by which it is encircled, we made all sail to luff clear of it and get into the parallel of *San Quintin*.

From the bearings and distances noted, and the course sailed up to the time of approaching the reef, it was found that this island, with its reefs, lies $19\frac{1}{2}$ leagues W. $3\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N. from *San Simon*; and that the one we saw in the S.S.W. quarter bears W. $\frac{1}{2}$ S.W. 2° S. from *San Simon*: [in relation] with each other these same islands bear N. $9^{\circ} 15'$ W. and S. $9^{\circ} 15'$ E. [respectively], being $6\frac{1}{3}$ leagues apart.

The aforesaid island is situated in lat. $17^{\circ} 29'$ S., long. $238^{\circ} 50'$. It consists of a small well wooded hummock or clump, surrounded by a reef the greater part of which is overflowed by the sea¹. The island seen away to the S.S.W. is larger, and covered with groves of trees². The outline

¹ This was *Tekokoto*, named "Doubtful" island by Cook, who was its original discoverer on August 11th, 1773: though he generously suggested in his journal [Bibl. no. 29, vol. 1, p. 141] that "probably this was another of Bougainville's discoveries." It lies sixteen miles N. of *Hikueru*, and is described in the Admiralty Sailing Directions as "a circular reef one mile in diameter" enclosing a shallow lagoon. "The northern half of this atoll is about 6 or 7 feet high, and the southern half is almost entirely under water with the exception of an islet situated about the middle, which is covered with high trees. There are no coconut trees on this atoll" [Bibl. no. 1 bis].

² This island was *Hikucru*, in lat. $17^{\circ} 35'$ S., long. $142^{\circ} 41'$ W., erroneously stated in the Admiralty Sailing Directions [*loc. cit.* p. 130] to have been "discovered by Cook on the 6th April, 1769, and called by him 'Bird' island": whereas the fact, as recorded in Cook's journal, is that he sighted *Reitoru* on the 7th of April (at 6.30 a.m.) and "soon got close in with it. It is about 3 or 4 Miles in Circuit, and very low, with a Pond in the Middle. There is some wood upon it, but no inhabitants but Birds, and for this reason is called Bird Island. It lies in the lat. $17^{\circ} 48'$ and long. $143^{\circ} 35'$ W., and W. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. 10 Leagues from the West end of the two Groups" [*Marokau*]. It had most likely been sighted by Bougainville a year earlier, but the particulars and chart of that tract of the Frenchman's voyage are too vague to justify identification.

The latitude, bearing from *Marokau*, and day's work recorded by Cook, added to his description of the island and special mention of the birds, show plainly that it was *Reitoru*, and not *Hikueru* (which is nearly seven miles in length) that he reconnoitred. There are 'rookeries' of boobies at *Reitoru* and *Tekokoto*. *Hikueru* lies E. and W.

and extent of them both will be seen on their plans, where they are named *Los Martires*, and *San Juan* [respectively]:

On the 2nd of November at 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ in the morning, we sighted the isle of *San Quintin*² right ahead, 5 leagues distant; and we passed to the nor'ard of it, one league off. It bears W. 9° S. from *Los Martires*. We proceeded on our course at six o'clock in the afternoon under easy sail in order that, when day should break, we might still be to windward of the island of *Todos Santos*³, which in fact was sighted away to the south'ard and west'ard at about ten o'clock in the forenoon. We thereupon stood towards it until near enough to conveniently send in a boat as enjoined by our Instructions; but we were not then able to do this, as the weather had set in squally during the day, and continued so until seven [one?] o'clock. Having cleared up, however, the boat was got into the water, armed, and placed under my orders, and I⁴ started away to see what it looked like along the N.W. shore-line, where, judging from

in its long diameter, and is "well wooded, except on the eastern and south-eastern sides which are bare, and encloses a lagoon extremely rich in pearl shell" [Bibl. no. 1 *bis*]. It was swept by the cyclone of 1903, when 377 persons lost their lives there; and again in 1905, with six victims. A light is now shown at night (and the French flag by day) when a vessel is sighted; and there is a passage into the lagoon opposite the village at the N.W. end, navigable for small vessels. Cf. vol. I, note on p. 288: also Bibl. no. 4. For a more exact physiographic description of *Tekokoto* and *Hikueru* by Alexander Agassiz see Bibl. no. 2, pp. 109-11 of the text, and Pl. 66.

¹ The *Aguila* must have drifted between these two reef-islands during the night of October 30th, 1772, without either of them being seen, when on her first voyage to Tahiti. I have not met with any separate plans of them, but I believe the large general chart by Andrés Baleato which is in the *Depósito Hidrográfico* shows them.

² *Hanaiki*: see vol. I, pp. 287-8, note 1 and Plan.

³ *Anau* or 'Chain' Island: see vol. I, p. 291, note 1 and Plan. For the physiography of *Anau* see Bibl. no. 2, pp. 84-5 of the text, and Plates 51 (1), 52, 53.

⁴ The use of the first person singular here seems to show that even this part of the Journal was penned by Lieut. Gayangos, although Boenechea was still alive and well at that time. The Padres' diary specifically states that Gayangos had charge of the boat on this occasion. But the captain's log or journal was always a joint production, I understand from Arts. 24 and 26 of Boenechea's Instructions

on board, the sea appeared not to be breaking. When we had got within about a boat's length of the reef that fringes it all round, more than a hundred or a hundred and fifty Indians came forward armed with spears and slings, ranged closely together and droning a sort of chant, as if a prayer, and made signs to us to land. Not being able to do so however, because of the heavy surf that was breaking on the reef, I directed the Indian Pautu, after he had made them some signs of recognition, to jump into the water and get into communication with them, so as to explain to them who we were; but scarcely had he set about this, when they attacked us with a volley of stones from their slings, and we were compelled to discharge some muskets into the air to secure our retreat, for there was no other way of getting clear without exposing ourselves to the savage fury of their onslaught. Moreover, my business being to effect a landing, should that be at all possible, without obvious risk, I had to take constant account of the breakers on the reef quite as much as of any resistance offered by the natives.

I then proceeded farther on, coasting along the island: the Indians following my movements until they saw themselves cut off from us by a gap or depression in the reef which obliged them to have to turn back. Just then we caught sight of a wooden cross, standing on a sandy beach on the inner side of the reef near the skirt of a wood. It was of moderate size, regular in all its proportions, and showed signs of having been erected there a long time ago¹. Seeing that the Indians were by this time so far

(vol. I, p. 274), embodying information collected and verified by all his officers; and Gayangos probably revised and adapted the MS. kept by Boenechea down to the time of the latter's illness, afterwards continuing it himself, as commanding officer.

¹ A particular interest attaches to this passage about a cross, in relation to the one that was erected by members of Quirós' expedition on the 11th of February, 1606, at the island they named *La Conversion de San Pablo*, identified by Sir Clements Markham and the late

off that they could do us no harm with their slings I put back a little way in order to place myself in a better spot [for landing], and when close up to the reef I ordered a seaman to jump ashore with a couple of small knives, and wade up the beach to a dry place, where he was to deposit them in full view of the Indians, and then return to the boat. No sooner did they see him on shore than several Indians emerged from the wood on the skirt of which the cross stands, and, joining forces with the other party on the reef, they set off running towards the place where the seaman was, with many angry gestures; while he, seeing them approach, put the knives down on the reef as I had

Admiral Sir William Wharton as this very atoll of *Anaa*. Cf. *The Voyages of Pedro Fernandez de Quiros* [Hakluyt Society, Second Series, vols. XIV and XV] where Gonzalez de Leza says that it was "a very high well-made cross": Belmonte Bermudez says the spot was in a "palm grove" (adjoining a *marae*): and Torquemada observes that the landing party "arrived at a place which was near the beach, and on the verge of a small clump of palms and other trees," that they "entered the thick wood, some of our people cutting away the branches with their swords until they came near the other bay of still water [the lagoon], which is on the other side of the island" [i.e. of the strip of land between the sea and the lagoon], and that on finding the *marae* "they desired to plant the royal insignia where the dweller in darkness was worshipped...so with Christian fervour they began to cut down a tree with wood-knives, of which they formed a cross, and set it up in the place with great joy" etc. The analogy of these records with the story related by Gayangos is too striking to be passed over without criticism; yet it is scarcely conceivable that a cross, constructed on the spur of the moment out of green timber, with only wood-cutters' knives (and perhaps cutlasses) for tools, without copper nails presumably, or augurs for boring trenail holes, should survive the ravages of time and cyclones for 168 years—even supposing that the natives, the sanctity of whose *marae* was thus flouted, did not interfere with it. When the expedition under Gonzalez, in 1770, set up three crosses at Easter Island, the natives were seen to pull them down the very next day, as soon as the ships weighed anchor, though they were on barren hill-tops and not in a *marae* at all.

There is a tree, called in Fiji the 'vesi' (*Afzelia bijuga*, A. Gray), which grows on many South Sea islands though not so far East, I believe, as *Anaa*, and whose heart-wood is almost imperishable even when buried. Another called 'buabua' (*Guettarda speciosa*, Linn.) is used for short piles, fences, and house-posts for the same reason; it might possibly be found in such situations as the one described, but they are not its normal habitat, nor is it usually so straight or convenient as the former for making a cross out of. The principal trees grown within

ordered him to and betook himself back to the boat. Curious to know what it was that the seaman had left for them, several of the Indians drew nearer; and one of them, coming upon the two knives, started off in high glee to show them to his companions. This made them all collect close to the boat, making signs of peace, and without any recourse to their slings. We therefore pitched some more knives across to them from the boat, and some biscuits: and they made return with coco-nuts, a pearl-shell necklace, a bow, and some strips of the matting with which they cover their nakedness. Several of them sprang into the water and came to the boat's side, where they held converse with us through our Indian Pautu, who told us he did not understand more than a few words, but that they knew him quite well for a Tahitian by the staining¹ on his arms and legs.

As I could not spend any longer time at this place, on account of the troublesome surf, and the Frigate being

the *maraes* and around their limit-stones, as sacred, were the *amae* or *miro* (*Thespesia populnea*, Soland.), *ati* or *tamanu* (*Calophyllum inophyllum*, Linn.), and the *aito* or *toa* (*Casuarina equisetifolia*, Linn.). All these afford hard and durable timbers, but are less adaptable for the purpose under discussion than the 'vesi.' On the whole, I am not disposed to believe that the cross Gayangos stumbled upon so opportunely at the only spot he touched at on the whole island, in 1774, was the same that Quirós' men set up in 1606; but, if the former was really a cross, designed as such and made by hands, the questions naturally arise "Who put it there? When? And with what object?" The only records we have of *Anaa* after Quirós' discovery of it but prior to this visit are Capt. Cook's, who sighted it without communicating, in April 1769, and again in August 1773, and Boenechea's, who coasted along the S. and W. sides of it without effecting any landing in 1772. Tupaia, however, alleged that a white men's ship had once been wrecked there [Bibl. no. 41, p. 517]. This question must therefore, it would seem, remain one of the many mysteries of the Pacific—like "the half of a cedar pole, which had been worked on the coast of Nicaragua or Peru" that González de Leza says they found at the same island on the day when they set up their cross, and the "gold ring with an emerald" that Belmonte Bermudez saw the old *Anaa* "woman who appeared to be a hundred years of age" wearing "on one of her fingers," but who "did not care for one of brass that they offered her" in exchange [*op. cit.*].

¹ i.e. the pattern of his tattoo markings.

rather a long way off, I came away and proceeded on board of her, where I made an exact report to the Comandante of all that had taken place.

We continued in sight of the said island, standing off and on in waiting for the storeship *Jupiter* (this being the appointed place of rendez-vous) until the 9th, when winds from the 4th quadrant, accompanied by numerous squalls and much rain with thunder and lightning, drove us off the coast and we got sight of land on which the sea was breaking heavily, lying to the N. $\frac{1}{4}$ N.E. We ranged along it with our head to the E. at a distance of between 3 or 4 leagues until half-past three in the afternoon, when we saw two hummocks ahead of us with a heavy surf beating upon them. Being fearful to pass the night in this position, in the presence of so many dangers, and the weather having still a threatening appearance, we again made for the Island of *Todos Santos*, which we succeeded in sighting at eleven o'clock the next day. We remained by it until the 12th, when it was decided to proceed for AMAT's Island and we resumed our course under all plain sail.

San Quintin lies W. 2° N. from the [island] of *Todos Santos*, distant thirty-eight leagues¹. The land sighted on a N. $\frac{1}{4}$ N.E. bearing, and the two hummocks seen to the E. of it, where the surf was beating so, were given the names of *San Julian* and *San Blas*. The former lies in lat. $17^{\circ} 9'$ S., and in the long. of $236^{\circ} 49'$: from *San Quintin* it bears W.N.W. 5° W., distant $23\frac{1}{2}$ leagues. The latter one is in lat. $16^{\circ} 53'$ S., and long. $236^{\circ} 22'$: *Todos Santos* bears S.W. $\frac{1}{4}$ S. from this, distant $13\frac{1}{2}$ leagues. And

¹ This is fairly right for the corrected bearing, except that the names of the islands have got transposed. It is *Todos Santos* that lies West from *San Quintin*. But cf. vol. I, p. 291. The bearing of W. $5^{\circ} 30'$ N. there given cuts the N. extreme of *Anau*: corrected. The true distance between these islands is 106 miles.

the bearing between the two stated islands themselves is N.W. $\frac{1}{4}$ W. 10° W., distant ten leagues apart¹.

At nine o'clock in the morning on the 13th we came in sight of the isle of *San Cristobal*² about six leagues distant; and as soon as we had drawn in with the land on its southern side, between one and two in the afternoon, several canoes with Indians in them came alongside. Our native, Pautu, spoke to them, and on their recognising him they clambered on board without any hesitation, very pleased and surprised at seeing him. Some odds and ends were given to them ; and we learnt from these natives

¹ A study of these particulars side by side with the modern Admiralty chart (no. 767) makes it clear that the islands Boenechea named "San Julian" and "San Blas" were *Tahanea* and *Motu Tu'a*; but in applying the data it also becomes evident that the names of the two islands have got transposed in the MS. : as is the case with *Todos Santos* and *San Quintín* in the preceding paragraph even more obviously. See note on p. 115. Making allowance for such reversals of names, or reading 'former' for 'latter' and *vice versa*, the latitudes given are exact for *Tahanea*, and only 5' out for *Motu Tu'a*. In fact, if we read $17^{\circ} 3'$ for $17^{\circ} 9'$ (3 and 9 being easily mistaken for each other in old Spanish) this one becomes exact also. For the longitudes an accumulated error of from 5° to 6° has to be allowed for, as elsewhere explained ; but the figures quoted agree with the other data in proving a transposition of the names. The 'league' is a rather unreliable unit in all these journals.

Of these two islands *Tahanea* was a new discovery, one of those for which Bellinshausen (who called it "Tchitchagov") has received the credit, although his voyage was not made till 1819-21. This should now be duly accorded to Boenechea. For photographs of *Tahanea* see Bibl. no. 2, Pl. 54, 55 : and cf. text, pp. 85-9.

The other island—*Motu Tu'a*—was also a new discovery in so far as Boenechea could know ; but as a matter of fact it had been sighted one year before by Cook and Furneaux (on the 13th of August, 1773), when its position was recorded in their logs and it was named, after the latter officer's ship, "Adventure" island. It is now laid down in the Admiralty Charts and Sailing Directions in lat. $17^{\circ} 3'$, long. $144^{\circ} 25'$ W. from Greenwich ; these figures indicate its northern extreme. The "hummocks" (*mogotes*) described by Gayangos at its western end agree well with the "clumps" mentioned in the Sailing Directions as lying all along the North side, the southern reef being destitute of vegetation [Bibl. no. 1 bis], and help to prove its identity and that of *Tahanea*, which last exhibits some special features.

² *Mehetia*. Cf. vol. I, pp. 292-7 and Plan. For photographic views of this island see Bibl. no. 2, Pl. 90 (2) and 95 (1). There is a good water-colour sketch of it by Lieut. George Tobin, in his MS. log of H.M.S. *Providence*, in 1791 [Bibl. no. MSS. 21, Log. no. 94].

that the Island of *Todos Santos* is not the one we took to be *Matea*, but that their name for it is 'Tāpuhoe,' and its inhabitants are a very fierce people who do not maintain intercourse with any of the neighbouring islands¹.

These Indians quitted us before sunset to make good their return to the shore, and, through Pautu, petitioned the Comandante to convey to AMAT's Island five* or six natives belonging to it who were just then at *San Cristobal*, but had no means of getting home: to which request he assented.

We passed the night making short boards in order to keep the weather gauge of the island and receive them on board the following day, which, however, could not be managed owing to the weather setting in dirty; and we therefore bore up for the Island of AMAT.

The isle of *San Cristobal* is distant 49 leagues and

¹ *Tāpuhoe* does seem to have been the old name of *Anaa*, or of some part or village of that island. See note on p. 291 of vol. I, wherein for *La Sagittaria* read *La Conversion de San Pablo* as the more trustworthy identification: and also note 1 on pp. 112-114 hereof. From what we now know of the *Anaa* natives, as matters of history and tradition, only the converse of the statement that they held in Boenechea's day no intercourse with any of the neighbouring islands can be affirmed. The *Anaa* people were in fact sea rovers, and frequently raided the smaller islands of the Tuamotu group, being strong enough and feared enough to obtain what they wished for by force rather than by barter or peaceable commerce. Their pre-eminence arose mainly, no doubt, from the greater productiveness of their atoll, owing to its size and the nature of the soil on it. Hence they were better fed than most, their struggle for life was comparatively easy, they became prosperous, wealthy, ambitious, autocratic, and warlike. They had also the best supply of timber, built larger and more seaworthy canoes than their neighbours, and ventured farther afield, not only to Tahiti (which they once designed to conquer and did actually invade, but consented, after a parley, not to molest), but even to the windward atolls of *Hao*, *Vairaaatea*, and *Nukutavake*. Possessing, with these advantages, a teeming population, leavened perhaps by a measure of inborn truculence above their neighbours', and incited by minor rivalry and successes *inter se*, it is not surprising that the islanders of *Anaa*, as a community, should have gained an ascendancy over most other natives of the Tuamotu archipelago (excepting perhaps those of *Fa'arava* and *Rairoa*).

2 thirds from that of *Todos Santos*, on a bearing W. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.W.
 $0^{\circ} 30'$ W.¹

On the 14th, at half-past three in the afternoon the said Island of AMAT hove in sight; and, so soon as we found ourselves to be within some six leagues' distance of it, we hauled our wind and passed the night making short boards, until six o'clock next morning, when we again bore up for the land. At eight the storeship *Jupiter* was observed under sail off the harbour of *Tayarabú*, and a signal was made to her to join company. At the same hour a proclamation was solemnly issued forbidding every one on board to offer any offence to the natives of the island and those lying near-by, whether by word or deed, on pain of rigorous punishment.

This island [Tahiti] lies $1^{\circ} 25'$ farther to the Westward than was accounted the case on the previous voyage; and is distant from that of *San Cristobal* $26\frac{1}{2}$ leagues W.N.W.
 $4^{\circ} 45'$ W.²

At ten o'clock we laid the main-yard aback and got the boat into the water, armed and under the orders of Junior Lieut. Don Raymundo Bonacorsi, who was charged with the duty of making a particular examination for the best harbour there might be between the bay of *Oydia*³ and, East about, as far round as *Papala*⁴; and, having cast off from alongside with the Second Master Ramón Rosales, the marine-interpreter, and the native Pautu, they stood away towards the harbour of *Tayarabú*⁵, where the said

¹ Taking it as from the South extreme of *Anaa* the bearing quoted (allowing for the difference in magnetic declination since Boenechea's time) is correct, by compass. The actual distance is 160 miles.

² The distance from *Mehetia* (*San Cristóbal*) to the nearest part of Tahiti, which is *Vaiurua*, is just 60 miles. The bearing here quoted would pass North of Tahiti, between Point Venus and *Tetiaroa* atoll: and one is driven to suppose that the MS. may be at fault here.

³ *o Hitiaa.*

⁴ *Papara.*

⁵ Meaning *Vaiurua* pass and lagoon, in the district called *Taiarapu*.

Pautu belonged. Before entering it they were surrounded by innumerable canoes which repaired to the spot to meet their fellow-countryman : of whom they already had news from the storeship. They landed in front of his house, where the bystanders one and all showed great pleasure at seeing him again, and so well clothed too. His near relations gave him a most affectionate reception, weeping bitterly, kissing him, and lavishing their caresses on him in such profusion that they left him no chance to utter a word. This first and natural impulse over, they listened [to his story] in silent wonder as if to an oracle; and, tendering our people many thanks for the good treatment he had been accorded, and for having restored him to the island, they made them a great presentation of all the fruits of their usage, and a quantity of fish besides.

The boat party then shoved off, to carry on with the duty, with Pautu and some of his relations on board, and accompanied by a crowd of canoes. They led the way along inside the reef to the adjoining district of *Ohatutira*¹, saying that the *arii* Otu was there with all his household, together with Titorea, and Vehiatua—who rules over that District—taking their recreation ; and, before they had time to bring the boat to an anchor, these magnates sallied out to receive them with the same demonstrations of joy and interest as the former Indians. On arriving at this place a bay discovered itself to view, formed within the horns of the reef²; and, being overtaken by a heavy shower

¹ Now called *Tautira*: *Hatu* having been transposed into *Tahu*, to avoid the forbidden syllable *tu*, and the *h* being subsequently dropped by ellipsis. For remarks on this custom, called *te pi*, see Hale, U.S. Explor. Exped. (Wilkes) *Ethnology and Philology*, vol. VII, p. 288 *et seq.*; and Max Müller's *Lectures on the Science of Language* (Second Series, 1864), pp. 28, 34-36. It was also called *O Fatutira*.

² This bay subtends the embouchure of the *Vai te piha* and is sometimes called "Cook's anchorage." *Tautira* is the village situated on the low, flat peninsula, or tongue of land which forms the eastern shore of the bay and consists of shingle and alluvial

of rain, the *arii* went ashore in there. As soon as it had passed over, our people set about taking soundings in this bay, and made some traverses, during which they learned from the natives that an English frigate whose captain they called "Notute¹," had lain at anchor there a short time previously. On completing this duty they let go the grapnel for the night. The *arii* Otu and Vehiatua then immediately came back to the boat, the latter bringing a canoe-load of fruit, fish, and a hog, as a presentation to them—which compliment our people acknowledged with some light articles they had with them—and they remained engaged in a long and chatty conversation till nightfall, when the *ariis* went off again, to sleep on shore.

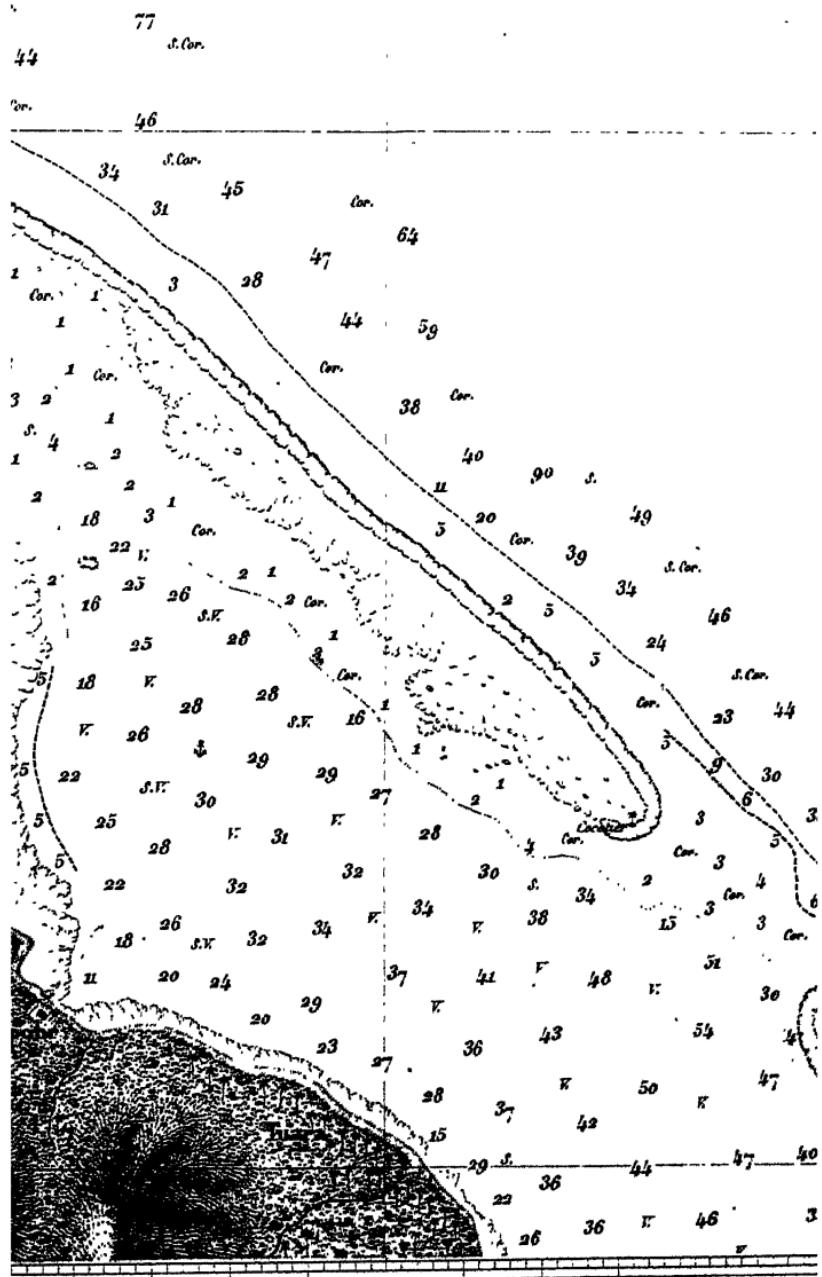
They weighed early next morning and completed some further traverses which remained to be done, in the course of which the *arii* Otu and Vehiatua came off again, and our people started away in their company for Port *La Virgen*². Having examined this to their satisfaction they proceeded on to the roadstead of *Oydia*, where the

detritus washed down the gorge of *Ataroa*, through which the river reaches the sea. This material accumulates on the shore reef, becoming banked up and retained there by the contending influences of the flood-water from the gorge and the surf in northerly weather. The locality is well depicted on the accompanying Plan, which is reproduced from a section of the French Admiralty chart (no. 3825). The entrance to the bay between the horns of the reef to seaward is seen to be of notable depth. By comparing this chart with Hervé's Plan (in the pocket) the shortcomings of the latter may be recognised; but its identification offers no difficulty, notwithstanding those defects, to anyone acquainted with the place *in propria persona*. It is one of the most beautiful and fascinating spots in the Pacific, though *Tautira* itself suffered lamentable damage by submersion during the remarkable tidal wave in 1906. See Plate at p. 124.

¹ i.e. *no Tute*—of Cook. The *k* sound, which does not exist in Tahitian, is either dropped or becomes *t*. Capt. Cook's visits to this bay took place in the *Endeavour's* pinnace with Banks in June 1769, in the *Resolution* with Furneaux in August 1773, and again with Clerke in August 1777 [Bibl. no. 30, p. 81, no. 29, vol. I, pp. 146–151, no. 28, vol. II, pp. 8–20, no. 40, vol. I, cap. viii, and no. 51, vol. II, p. 157].

² So named by the exploring party in the launch during the *Aguila's* visit to Tahiti in 1772: now known as *Toharoa* in the district of *Pueu*. The passage is the first one West of *Vaitepiha*.

29



29

arii Oreti¹ holds sway, being the same in which the two ships under Maria Bougonbil's² command had lain at anchor. Here they carried out the same job, although the *arii* aforesaid warned them beforehand that the bottom was patchy, being everywhere obstructed by coarse and scattered rocks. They brought to, while dinner was being got ready, and at half-past one in the afternoon again got under way for Port *La Virgen*³, where they passed the night. They returned, on the succeeding day, to the bay of *Ohatutira*⁴ and there learned that the *arii* Otu and Vehiatua had gone round to *Tayarabu*, towards which the launch party continued onwards. On reaching Port *Aguila*⁵ they made for the shore in order to receive the *arii* Vehiatua on board, who offered, of his own motion, to accompany them to the inlet off *Papala*, which they examined in as much detail as they did the previous ones; but they found it cumbered throughout with coarse scattered rocks, and exposed in many parts to the prevailing winds⁶.

After fulfilling their errand they remained satisfied that the anchorage of *Ohatutira*⁴ was the best of all those they had explored; and they started early the next morning on their return to Port *Aguila*⁵, in which they brought up at half-past six in the evening and passed the night without adventure.

On the 19th, at six in the morning, they put to sea from that same place to make for the Frigate, accompanied by the *arii* Otu and two brothers of his, with Vehiatua and Titorea, and some followers. They arrived on board at

¹ i.e. o *Hitiua*, of which o Reti was the *arii*.

² M. de Bougainville, in the *Boudeuse* and *l'Étoile* in 1768. Perhaps 'Maria' is an error for 'Monsieur': this officer's names were Louis Antoine.

³ See note 2 opposite.

⁵ *Vaiurua*. See note on p. 87.

⁴ See note 1, p. 119.

⁶ Identity doubtful.

two in the afternoon, where the Chiefs were made most welcome by all of us, and remained in our company of their own pleasure until the Frigate came to anchor.

We continued to stand off and on at a moderate distance awaiting a favourable wind for entering the harbour of *Ohatutira*, upon which we had now decided.

On the 23rd there came on board in a canoe manned by six Indians the wife of Titorea, in a very tearful and despondent mood about her husband's absence, and likewise that of Vehiatua her son, telling us that, on shore, these Chiefs were even now supposed to have been lost and all the people were deeply anxious on account of their missing *arii*, who, in spite of this piece of news, did not again venture themselves in the canoe: for the wind had freshened considerably, and to make for the shore in it would have exposed them to obvious danger. So that we found ourselves obliged to hoist the canoe inboard, and to let the lady stay in her husband's company until the weather should permit of our sending them back. It calmed down a bit the next day and we got the Indians' canoe into the water, as well as our own boat armed and in charge of Don Juan de Manterola, lieut. of marines, with instructions to see our guests safely landed, whom we provided with a goodly store of useful articles. They evinced ample signs of gratitude and cast off from the frigate's gangway offering us many civilities. At the moment they were letting go, two canoes came up under sail laden with provisions sent off for the said two *arii* by their Indians, in the belief, no doubt, that they would stand in need of them through not relishing the components of our dietary.

We kept our position by standing off and on, experiencing several squalls and downpours of rain from the 2nd and 4th quadrants until the 26th [of the month], when the weather became finer and the boat returned on board without having met with any particular adventure.

On the morning of the 27th the wind set in light from the N.N.W. and we made all sail to draw close in with the land and pass into the harbour. So soon as we got within easy distance the boat was hoisted out and lowered, and the Second Master was sent away in her with orders to station himself in the passage with a pendant hoisted, to serve us for a beacon: a signal was made to the storeship to see everything ready for anchoring. At half-past twelve o'clock the boat signalled us that she was in position, and we stood in towards her with a fresh breeze at N.W.: at two o'clock in the afternoon we let go the starboard bower in the aforesaid harbour¹.

JOURNAL OF PARTICULAR OCCURRENCES during our stay at the harbour of *Santa Cruz de Ohatutira*, in the Island of AMAT, situated in latitude $17^{\circ} 34'$ S., and longitude $232^{\circ} 28'$ from the meridian of Tenerife².

We dropped anchor in the above-named harbour on the 27th of November of 1774, at half-past one o'clock in the afternoon, in 15 fathoms³, black sand with some

¹ This journal of the outward passage as far as Tahiti lacks much of the detail such as Boenechea gave in that of the preceding voyage over the same ground. The account written by the Master of the storeship, of his voyage begun and ended under convoy of the *Aguila*, will be found to supply many other particulars, and to amplify some of the broader statements of Gayangos.

² The true longitude of the bay of *Vaitepiha*, or *Tautira* as it is now more usually called, is $149^{\circ} 09' 30''$ West from Greenwich—which amounts to $4^{\circ} 58' 30''$ more than Gayangos and Hervé made it. Cf. Andía y Varela's journal *postea*: he found the long. $228^{\circ} 56'$ from Tenerife, which is equivalent to $147^{\circ} 43'$ West from Greenwich, and gives him only $1^{\circ} 26' 30''$ of easterly error. Andía's latitude, too, is correct to half a mile; whereas the officers of the frigate considered it to be $17^{\circ} 34'$, which is $10' 30''$ too northerly.

³ Capt. Cook anchored there in the *Resolution* “in twelve fathoms water, about two cables' length from the shore” [*loc. cit.* p. 120].

gravel, the wind being from N.W.; and after having got the launch into the water the yards were sent down and topmasts struck, for we lay without shelter from the prevailing wind.

We saw the ship securely moored with two stream anchors to the nor'ard and one to the S.: the one nearest to N. being in 11 fathoms' water on a bottom of black sand and ooze, and the other more towards the N.W. in 14 fathoms, same bottom. That to the S. lay in 4 fathoms; and we had 8 fathoms, sand and ooze, beneath the frigate's hull.

The storeship *Jupiter* moored astern of us in similar fashion¹.

The instant we had let go, the *arii* or Cacique of the District, Vehiatua by name, came on board with the *arii* Otu, whom they style the *arii erahe*²—which is equivalent to Cacique or Overlord—accompanied by the major portion of his suite: and they made us a presentation of wraps [of native cloth] such as they are accustomed to use, fine mats, *tahumis*³, hogs and a variety of fruits, with which we were much gratified. We rendered our acknowledgements with a gift of axes, knives, shirts, and soft goods of our own sorts: all of them articles they prize most. At this they were filled with delight, and kept up a long and animated conversation with us through the medium of the Interpreter and the two natives on board.

Canoes without number came off, at the unaccustomed sight of the Frigate, laden with plantains, coco-nuts, and *Eurus*⁴ in such abundance that after every mess had supplied itself with what its members liked, without stint,

¹ Cf. Andia y Varela's journal *postea*, where fuller details of the anchorage are given. And see the positions marked on Hervé's chart.

² i.e. *arii rahi*, paramount Chief.

³ *Taumi* is the Tahitian name for the plastron or demi-gorget formerly worn by Chiefs and certain warriors. See Plate.

⁴ *Uru* is breadfruit.

B.C.C., Photo, Tung.

VIEW FROM TAUTIRA BEACH, LOOKING TOWARDS ATA'AROA.

Reproduced by Donald Macbeth.



there still remained over such quantities that we had to give them to the cattle.

The Comandante invited the two *arii* into the cabin, with some eight or ten principal persons of their retinue, where he imparted to them his design of setting up a house on shore as a dwelling for the two missionary *Padres* and the marine who was to be with them as Interpreter, explaining that they wished to remain at the Island, of their own free-will. He inquired of the Chiefs whether they were agreeable that the house should be erected, or no; and whether they would give a plot of land for the homestead, and make our people comfortable. To this the aforesaid *arii* made answer with inexpressible satisfaction that they would be most pleased that the house should be built, and that the *Padres* should remain in occupation of it: that they would themselves provide men and everything necessary for its construction: and that the *Padres* might make choice of whatever site should seem to them best. In virtue of their willing acquiescence it was then agreed that I¹ should go with the aforesaid *Padres* and the marine-interpreter, on the morrow, to select the site most appropriate for the purpose.

The conference being brought to a close they stepped up on to the quarter-deck, where they all joined in a very lengthy conversation among themselves, apparently of quite a gratifying nature, which we inferred might have reference to the proposal we had just laid before them. At dusk the *arii* ordered their canoes to be got ready, and, after taking leave of us all with many embraces, they set out for the shore: the other canoes that had lain alongside all following in their wake.

28th Nov. The *arii* of the District came on board as

¹ "I"—i.e. Lieut. Gayangos: cf. the *Padres'* and the Interpreter's diaries, and note 4 on p. III.

soon as day broke to invite me ashore to look at the land ; and, in accordance with what had been agreed upon on the previous afternoon I¹ embarked in the yawl with him, the missionary *Padres*, the Interpreter, the native Pautu, and an escort of two marines. As soon as we landed on the beach the aforesaid *arii* conducted us to a very spacious and well constructed hut of thatch, where we made a short halt pending the arrival of two Indian headmen whom he had ordered to be called ; we then immediately sallied forth on our errand, accompanied by an endless number of Indians who came out of curiosity.

We made first for a prominent point of view, from whence I saw a broad stretch of flat land covered all over with fruit-trees, something like a mile in length and rather more than half as much in width ; but, after examining its whole extent, and the quality of the soil composing it, I found that it was everywhere marshy. We therefore worked back towards the beach at the place where the natives have their village ; and I satisfied myself that the immediate outskirts of that afforded better soil and would prove more easy of cultivation : this opinion gained support from the fact that they have their own gardens in that quarter.

The *arii* and all the people of his retinue told us that this was the better site ; and, on ordering an Indian to dig, the soil was seen to consist of black mould somewhat sandy in quality, with some gravel, and capable, in my judgment, of growing whatever might be planted in it. A small plot of this, of about thirty *varas'* frontage, and a hundred *varas* deep, the greater portion of which was planted up, appearing to me better than the rest, I suggested it to the *arii*. He answered that it belonged to his mother, and that he was not able to decide on it without her approval ; but that he would speak to her about the

¹ See note overleaf, and 4 on p. 111.

matter, and did not doubt but she would concede it. In point of fact, meeting her on the beach as we were about to return on board, he put it to her there and then, and she granted the land with great readiness—mentioning, however, to her son, that we should keep the building some ten *varas* farther away from an oratory¹ that stands hard by. Having done our errand we repaired on board with the said *arii*, who afterwards took tiffin with us and remained in the Frigate all the afternoon.

I submitted to the Comandante an exact report of all that had been agreed upon, and he decided to go himself, the following day, and inspect the area I had stated to be best adapted for our purpose².

Quite as many Indians came alongside the Frigate as on the previous day, in canoes laden with all kinds of produce, native cloth, mats, hogs, ring-doves, paroquets, fowls, periwinkles, and to say truth, with whatever they possessed no matter how trivial in value; all for barter with our people. We found endless diversion this day in watching the dealings of the Indians, and we were amazed to see the subtlety with which they tricked our men in their exchanges, getting the better of their bargains with old and worn mats and scraps of native cloth, which they sold as new, but were often enough full of perfectly disguised mends and patches.

¹ Investigations I made on the spot, with the kindly co-operation of the Chiefs descended from the collaterals of Vehiatua and Amo, show that this "oratory" was the *marae* called 'Vaiotaha,' which had been founded about twenty generations before the date of Boenechea's and Gayangos' visit, with a sacred stone then brought over from *Porapora*—*Vavaau* as it was anciently called—by a renowned Chief and navigator named Raa-mauriri. This *marae* was ruthlessly destroyed by Pomare II's command in 1815, at the instance of the missionaries; and its site is now entirely overgrown with dense vegetation, so that the photograph I obtained of it shows nothing but forest undergrowth.

² Compare the account given by the *Padres* in their diary *postea*, and their somewhat disparaging criticism of the site.

The father of the youngest of the Indians¹ we had taken with us [to Lima and back] came on board; and, as soon as he saw his son, greeted him affectionately and was loth to loose him from his embrace. He did the same with several of ourselves into whose care he had confided the boy when we took him from the island. The old man remained on board the Frigate with him for some days, lost in contemplation at again seeing his son, and marvelling at the stories he related about Lima and the kindly treatment accorded him there.

The Indians withdrew at nightfall, and the *arii's* canoe not having come off for him he begged that our boat might convey him ashore, which wish we gratified.

29th Nov. The Comandante landed in order to inspect the plot of land I had recommended to him for the home-stead; and as, on going over the ground himself, it seemed to him very good and well suited for our purpose, he decided that a space contained within a frontage of twenty-five *varas* running S.W. $\frac{1}{4}$ S. and N.E. $\frac{1}{4}$ N. by a depth of one hundred *varas* running S.E. $\frac{1}{4}$ E. and N.W. $\frac{1}{4}$ W. should be marked off with pegs. Its distance from the beach was about a *quadra*² and a half, and a little less than that from a river of fresh water which flows out on to the beach.

¹ i.e. Tetuanui, a youth stated to be between ten and twelve years old when they took him to Lima, two years before the time here alluded to.

² A *cuadra* is a somewhat indefinite measure of distance quoted in colloquial parlance in South and Central America, and really means the length or width of a 'block' in any of the towns laid out on the rectangular system. Lentzner [Bibl. no. 62] states that in the Argentina it is commonly equal to 150 *varas* or 129'9 metres; but in Uruguay about 100 *varas* only. Juan and Ulloa put it at 150 *varas* in Lima. Frezier [Bibl. no. 42] says "150 *varas* or Spanish Yards, that is 64 fathoms," in Santiago de Chile, and the same in Lima. We may take it that Gayangos quoted it with the width of a block of 150 *varas* in his mind's eye, being the equivalent of as many paces, or 139 English yards, a *vara* or verge measuring 2'78 of our feet.

The *arii*, being asked if there was any objection to a few trees which stood in the way being cut down, told us there was not: our carpenters thereupon felled them, and they came in for boundary posts. The *arii* directed his people to stub and clear the surface of the plot we had chosen, and they did so in the course of the day, transplanting everything that was of use to themselves to a neighbouring piece of ground.

We returned to the ship at midday, greatly oppressed by the heat,—and the flies, which are so abundant and pester one to such an extent, especially on calm days, that one can not move about without carrying something in the hand to whisk them away with.

The Comandante resolved that a beginning should be made next day at the work of erecting the house; and, for this purpose, he detailed a guard comprising a serjeant and four marines, with a naval petty officer, the two carpenters belonging to the ship's company, four seamen as axemen, and six more of the same for the rough work of driving in pickets and hauling timber.

As large a number of canoes came alongside as on the preceding days, and some *arii* from the neighbouring districts: they continued bartering with our people.

30th Nov. Sails were unbent, and a beginning was made at re-coopering our water-casks (which, being originally of bad quality, had become very unsound) in order that we might water ship at a stream that flows out of a ravine and discharges itself into the sea a short way off from where the Frigate lay.

The Comandante and some of us officers went ashore for a stroll, and to take a look at the work our men were about. We met the *arii* of the District with more than two hundred Indians watching what the carpenters were doing, all wondering at the ease and speed with which

they brought down the trees. The *arii* himself joined our party, and led us to the place where the launch was filling water for the day's use ; and he warned us that they should go farther up-stream, because it was somewhat brackish¹ at the spot where they were. As it was now close on noon, we took our leave of him, saying that we would come back again towards evening : to which he made answer, quite courteously, that our tiffin the day before had been much to his liking, and the Comandante thereupon naturally invited him to come to our table whenever he felt so disposed. And this he did for the space of some days afterward, during which he learned the use of knife, fork, and spoon, and took great pains to observe all our motions; asking whomever was at his side to show him what to do, each time he found any difficulty in copying them. None of our flavourings came amiss to him : he asked for wine at the proper times, and commended it highly—which is not to be wondered at, considering that he used to befuddle himself on most days with a nasty bitter concoction that his henchmen brewed for him from a plant they call *Eava*².

The Comandante again landed in the afternoon, together with his guest and some officers, and as the twenty-five *varas* of ground laid off for the frontage of the building seemed to him rather much, he decided that it should be twenty instead, and fifteen *varas* from front to back : leaving the remainder of the hundred *varas'* depth [of the allotment] for garden ground. So the first pickets were then put in on those measurements.

¹ The stream mentioned is the *Vaitepiha* itself. It is shown on the French chart at p. 120, and Hervé's plan in the pocket. During spring tides with strong northerly winds it is liable to admixture with salt water at the point where it disembogues over the shingle beach of the bay, just as Vehiatua pointed out and I have myself witnessed.

² This is the well known *ava* or *kava* shrub of Polynesian islands (*Piper methysticum*, Forst.).

The Indians continued their barter with our people, and brought some excellent fish of all kinds.

Dec. 1st. The launch went in at daybreak to get fresh water, with a petty officer, a corporal, and two marines under arms, having orders not to allow any of the party to stray away from the work in hand: desiring by that means to prevent any excesses. Between nine and ten o'clock the marine-interpreter came off in a canoe and reported to the Comandante that the *arii* Otu and Vehiatua and all their people were getting their canoes in readiness to go away into another District, being in a state of alarm brought about by one of the seamen of the launch, who, in consequence of his shirt having been stolen whilst it was spread out to dry, had gone in among the natives and threatened them by gestures, knife in hand, that if they did not institute a search [for the garment] he would cut their throats, and they would be fired upon with muskets. The Interpreter explained that this had so terrorised the natives that he had not been able to persuade them against betaking themselves off.

The Comandante, having heard the Interpreter's statement, instructed me to proceed ashore to reassure them, and to find out who had been the instigator of the row. In obedience to the order I jumped into the yawl and made straight for the beach, where I stepped ashore close to the spot at which the aforesaid *arii* were standing, ready for flight. They immediately came up to me and asked whether we intended doing them any hurt, upon which I gladly assured them that they need not be afraid, and that I was going to find out who had been threatening them, in order to have him punished. Nothing more was needed to satisfy them, and to stay the preparation of the canoes. I then ordered the launch's crew to be called up; and, mustering all hands in line in front of the two *arii* for these to tell me which was the man who had used threats,

they pointed one out to me. I had him made fast before them and sent down to the boat under arrest; but, upon this, the *arii* hurried to my side and begged me, with many embraces, to set him free. I told them, through the Interpreter, that I was not at liberty to grant their request, because the Comandante had directed me to secure the culprit after this fashion: and that he alone could dispense with the punishment, on their intercession. They then begged me, in virtue of my reply, to take them off with me in the yawl that they might sue for the man's pardon. So I shoved off for the Frigate, with the said *arii* and the prisoner, and reported everything to the Comandante, who immediately ordered the punishment pendant to be flown, and had the seaman lashed up to a gun for a flogging. But, so earnest and so effectual were the *ariis'* supplications, that, before there was time to administer the sentence, the Comandante gave way to them, and directed that the man be put in irons, and not allowed to go ashore any more.

They showed many marks of gratitude for the seaman's pardon, telling us that they knew us for genuine friends; and they both dined on board with us on that day and remained in our company until the angelus, when they betook themselves back to the shore in our yawl, accompanied by all the canoes that had been lying alongside trading.

Dec. 2nd. Our carpenters carried on with the house-building; and the Indians, by virtue of some small knives and other trifles that were given them, busied themselves hauling the timber for it.

The *arii* of the bay of *Oydia*, named Oreti¹, came on board with all his household, being the same who voluntarily

¹ O Reti, the Chief of *Hitiaa* on the East coast of Tahiti Nui was a well-known prefect, and ruled over a section of the island largely independent of the rest, in his day, as Tu did in *Pare*, Amo in *Papara*, and Vehiatua in *Taiarapu*. See vol. I, p. 312, note 7, and pp. 314-5.

accompanied me all round the island on the occasion of our previous voyage. He arrived at the gangway greeting me by my full name and surname; and, on my inviting him to step on board, he embraced me with many demonstrations of pleasure, and called to his henchmen to follow him up the side that he might present me with a profusion of fruits, pieces of native cloth, mats, and a good sized hog, that they had brought with them. Pleased with this attention, I responded with a gift of two axes, six knives, and some other things; and we held a long and friendly conversation, during which he expressed concern because the Frigate had not come to his own District [to find a berth] to bring up in. I satisfied him on this point by explaining that in the portion of his bay where there was good shelter the holding ground was particularly insecure¹; but that I was nevertheless his friend in every way, especially because I was very sensible of the good service he had rendered me during the previous voyage.

This *arii* is about forty-five years of age, of good presence, full of humour, active in body; and he made himself more easily understood by all of us than did any other.

Dec. 3rd. We overhauled our cables and found they had not sustained any injury. The Indians continued their bargaining in the same fashion as heretofore, always bent on the surest means of taking our people in.

Dec. 4th. At dawn this day more than a hundred canoes, what with large and small, some with paddles and others under sail, were disclosed to view both inside and outside the reef, under the leadership of two *pahies*²

¹ The anchorage off *Hitiaa* is so bad that M. de Bougainville's two ships lost six anchors there in nine days [Bibl. no. 19, and MSS. 32].

² The *pahi* or old Tahitian war-canoe have been well described by Wallis, Cook, Forster and others, and were very remarkable craft. None have existed for about a century; even Ellis wrote "I never saw but one of these" [Bibl. no. 36, vol. I, p. 167]. The best of them were said to have been built at *Raiatea*.

or canoes of the bigger class such as they use in warfare; and, having enquired of the first Indians who came alongside of us where so many canoes marshalled together were bound for, they told us that they had come from the district of *Opare*¹ with provisions for the *arri* Otu. We nevertheless, as a precaution, loaded our guns with round and grape shot, and likewise got ready the small-arms; but on the convoy arriving within half a league or so, all the canoes gathered into close order and, heading straight towards the harbour, passed within the entrance and made a dash for the beach.

About two hours after these canoes had come in we heard a lot of shouting on the beach, and, calling for our spy-glasses, we saw the canoes laying one another aboard and their crews belabouring each other freely with cudgels. The same tumult was observed to be going on on shore; so that, believing some violence might be attempted against our working party, the yawl was immediately armed and piped away, to discover the cause of so sudden a riot and to restore order. When, however, the Indians who were alongside the Frigate saw our boat start off in this unusual fig, they told us, with much laughter, that we need have no anxiety: that there was an *Erabe*² between the two parties of *Opare* and *Tayarabii*: and, on our asking them what was meant by *Erabe*², they replied that it was the custom, when one *arri* was sojourning in the district of another *arri*, and his own people sent him levies of food, for the [visiting] *arri* to take some of the choicest, and to leave the rest for division among the mass of the people; but that, on this occasion, that practice had not been respected, through the canoe hands having wanted to keep

¹ *Pare* and *Arue* districts are now united under the dual name *O Pare-Arue*. They extend coastwise from the West side of Matavai bay to the West end of Papeete, and for some distance inland.

² i.e. *Rave*, the act of seizing or appropriating: distress.

it all for themselves. The *Tayarabū* men had thereupon joined forces with those of *Ohatutira* against the canoe party, and, raiding them simultaneously afloat and ashore, had taken the whole of their stuff from them.

The yawl soon afterwards came back with the same story, adding that a good few Indians had got roughly handled in the scrimmage; and that, had not those of *Opare* precipitately abandoned their canoes, there might have been bloodshed.

The *arii* of the district did not punish the aggressors in the affray, nor did the paramount *arii* appear to take it as any affront; for they both related the story of the affair to us afterwards quite unconcernedly, and seemed to regard it as a smart piece of work.

The Indians detained a seaman of the storeship *Jupiter* on this day, who, having had some lewd traffic with an Indian woman, afterwards took away again a handkerchief he had given her as the consideration. On this she had shouted to her people, and they seized him; but they did him no hurt, merely keeping him a prisoner and acquainting his commander, who happened to be on shore, with what had happened; and they guided the latter to where they had the man detained and there delivered him over. The commander, being informed of this, made the seaman restore the handkerchief to the girl; and, taking him off on board the Frigate, he was put to shame by being lashed up to a gun and flogged.

Dec. 5th. We got on with the refitting of our rigging, and with the house-building: and nothing special occurred.

Dec. 6th. On the afternoon of this day, just when our people were most strenuously engaged in bartering with the Indians, all the latter dashed off suddenly and confusedly in their canoes for the shore, leaving us in much

perplexity as to what cause could have moved them to so precipitate a flight. We watched the beach attentively and saw crowds of Indians running hither and thither, and our boat making off in all haste for the ship. She arrived alongside with news to the effect that a coco-nut palm had fallen on one of the six seamen told off to work at the house, and that he was killed outright¹. This unlooked for occurrence had thrown the Indians into such confusion that many of them—the *arii* Otu, with all his following, among the foremost²—were about to betake themselves off in fear lest we should retaliate upon them for the accident. But on our people gently and soothingly assuring them that there was no occasion to decamp, that no blame attached to them, and that therefore no harm would be done to them, they gave up their intention and regained their wonted composure.

An inventory of the deceased's effects was immediately taken; and on the morning of the following day, after the funeral mass had been said, the body was interred close to the mission house, with all the ceremonial prescribed by the Church; and a small cross was set up over the grave.

The Indians found much matter for remark in the interment; and they viewed our method of burying the dead very unfavourably, observing that to shovel earth in atop of the body, and then stamp it down [with the feet], was an act of disrespect to the departed.

Dec. 7th. The topmasts and yards were swayed aloft; and the yawl went ashore with Ensign Don Juan Herve, the Master, [to enable him] to lay off a base line and obtain some bearings necessary for drafting a chart of the harbour.

¹ Cf. Andía y Varela's account of the incident: *postea*.

² Many circumstances in these records betoken the timid character this Chief has been usually credited with: cf. p. 144 for an example similar to the above.

Dec. 8th. On this day the Frigate was dressed and bedecked with bunting in honour of the Most Pure and Immaculate Conception of Our Lady the Virgin Mary: and no work was carried on. At sunset, cheers were given for the King; but we did not fire any salute, for fear of alarming the Indians, of whom there was an infinite number gathered round about the Frigate, attracted by the novelty of seeing her dressed and admiring the diversity of the colours so jauntily displayed.

Dec. 9th. The cables were overhauled and found to be without any damage whatever: the carpenters cut three logs of good timber for trestle-trees. Nothing particular happened.

Dec. 10th. On this day we learnt that the *arii* of the district had banished the Indians who lived up the gully¹, because they had not got ready a contribution of provisions he had levied on them.

The caulkers made a beginning at repairing the waterways, packing and making tight the light-scuttles, and gun-room ports, and attending to several seams where the caulking was rotten.

We felt the heat exceedingly on this day, and there was no wind at all until night-time, when the land breeze came along and cooled the air.

Dec. 11th. When the launch returned to the Frigate after landing the working party, at six o'clock in the morning, there came in her an Indian called Hinoi—brother² to the principal *arii*, and himself *arii* of the

¹ *La quebrada*, that is, the ravine or gorge of *Ataroa*, through which the *Vaitepiha* stream makes its way to the sea, above the head of the bay. It forms the rear ground of the view shown in the Plate at p. 124. A fine picture of its entrance, drawn by Mr Webber, and tinted in water-colour, is in the British Museum [Bibl. no. MSS. 25].

² Half-brother would be more correct. This Hinoi, whose other name was Vairaatoa, was the son of Tu's father Teu (the "Whappai" or *Hapai* of Cook) by a different wife—Tetua Umeretini Vairao (*testa Tati*). Tu had also another half-brother, Ariipaea, whose mother's name has been lost or suppressed.

district named Matavai—to inform our Comandante that the Indians up the gully who had neglected to pay a just tribute, and whom Vehiatua had warned on the previous day that they were dispossessed of their lands and banished from his district in consequence, were now up in arms against him ; and that the latter was going, aided by the *arii* Otu, to pay them out for their disloyal hardihood.

On being made aware of this piece of news the Comandante decided that Ensign Don Nicolas de Toledo should proceed ashore with a Serjeant [of marines] and twelve men, to protect the working party in the event of any riot or assault being committed by the rebels.

We could see from on board that there was a great bustle amongst the Indians. They were setting out for the gorge, armed with spears, slings, and cudgels : but straggling without any order or method, gaily bedizened in the clothes we had given them as presents, and wearing white turbans of many folds round the head as a protection against blows from sticks or stones. Some of them wore masks with the most grotesque features imaginable, and were making all sorts of feints and gesticulations.

As we were all anxious to know their manner of fighting, and to learn which party was going to gain the day, we directed the Interpreter to find the best means he could for watching their movements from a distance, without exposing himself ; so, making his way up the gorge with some of his chums, he succeeded in seeing the whole business without incurring the least danger. When he got back on board, before midday, he told us that the encounter never got the length of calling for the employment of arms on the *arii's* part, against the insurgents ; for, so soon as these saw the enemy advancing with such superiority in numbers, they abandoned their village and fled up the cleve into the recesses of the mountain, and although the *arii* went in pursuit his men did not succeed in overtaking

them. He therefore withdrew his forces to the insurgents' village, where he gave them liberty to sack and burn the houses and lay waste the plantations; a feat they achieved with much yelling in less than two hours, leaving neither house, nor fruit-tree, nor ground crops on which they had not avenged the infidelity of those in revolt. This performance ended, Vehiatua retired with the greater part of his men laden with native cloth, mats, fruit, hogs, and such moveables as they had come across, as the spoils of victory; and he immediately afterwards came off on board the Frigate, where he related to us the story of his operations with keen satisfaction¹.

Dec. 12th. On this day the first studs of the house were placed in position.

The Comandante gave directions for one mess at a time to go ashore to wash clothes, at a spot fixed upon for that purpose, with a corporal and two marines charged with preventing any disorderly conduct.

Dec. 13th. The carpenters continued work on the house, but made little progress, owing to the rain which fell throughout the day.

Dec. 14th. The stream anchor farthest to the nor'ard was weighed and catted ; and a kedge was laid out in place of it.

Dec. 15th. By the Comandante's decision we began to issue cabin bread every day, as the stock was found to have got damp and was keeping badly.

The Indians continued to barter with our crew ; but, it having come to the Comandante's notice that the men were heedlessly parting with clothing they had in use and would need for the homeward voyage, he issued an order that no one should give away or exchange any [more clothing] on pain of punishment.

¹ Cf. the Interpreter Máximo's account of this raid, under the corresponding date in his own diary (vol. III).

Dec. 16 and 17. The first trusses for supporting the ridge and gables of the house of the settlement were placed in position, and the Indians brought as many as fifty *purau* poles or *palo bobo* for roofing it over with.

The yards and topmasts were sent down, as the wind had hauled into the N.W. and knocked up a choppy sea.

Dec. 18 and 19. An anchor was laid out to supplement the northern one, the N.W. wind having freshened and increased the lumpiness of the sea. This anchor proved more reliable; and we lifted the kedge. On the wind and sea moderating the storeship *Jupiter* warped in under shelter of the reef to discharge the main sections of the portable house: which were got ashore in the course of the 19th, a serjeant and four men remaining in charge of them through the night.

Dec. 20th. The marine Joseph de Castro received punishment, by order of the Comandante, for having left his post when on sentry duty, without orders or permission from the serjeant in command, and having gone off to a native's hut and not put in an appearance again all night.

The sections of the portable house were fitted together in position within the standing shed; it has a frontage of six *varas*, by ten deep. The Indians collected round to see it set up, and were all much astonished at the quickness with which the job was completed, and at the accuracy with which the several pieces fitted together.

Dec. 21st. The *arii* of the District came on board and represented to the Comandante that the seamen told off to procure grass for the live-stock had been cutting it within the precincts of an *Imarae*¹ or sanctuary, and had eaten

¹ In these documents the word *marae* is variously written 'Maray,' 'Imaray,' 'Imarae' and even 'Inmaray.' Having stated this, it seems preferable to print it correctly, *marae*, in the translation, wherever it occurs farther on, as being more intelligible to the reader.

of the fruits that grew there and were held sacred to *Teatua*¹, their Divinity, who was much displeased in consequence, both with him and with all his people. The *arii* further alleged that this was the cause of there having been so much sickness in the district, and of the death of three or four of the principal Chiefs, of whom one was his father's brother the *arii* Pahairiro, who held sway over the bay of *La Virgen*².

The Comandante, being informed of his superstitious complaint, gave orders that no more grass be gathered at the place and that the fruits of the *marae* be not interfered with. It is a fact that they were just then afflicted with an epidemic of catarrhal fevers from which many of them died during our stay in port; attributable without doubt to the repeated wettings and exposure to the sun's rays the natives underwent through their fondness for coming off to the Frigate at all hours, and on all days, not excepting those when there was most rain. This was [an indulgence] quite opposed to their usual habit, as they themselves told us, of not going outside their houses on wet or misty days, even to look for food; and therefore it is in no way strange that such an alteration in their regular mode of living should prove thus prejudicial to their health. This was aggravated by their invariable practice of bathing at sundown, even when feeling seriously unwell; and from this many of the deaths evidently resulted, for the most part those of persons of advanced age. But we never succeeded in convincing them that the epidemic arose out of their irregularities, rather than through their Divinity being angered, as they considered³.

¹ *Te Atua*—God.

² '*La Virgen*' is *Toharou*, in *Anuhi*: now the *Pueu* district.
Cf. p. 120 note 2; also vol. I, pp. 311, and 312 note 1.

³ The explanation here given of the possible cause of this epidemic is a common-sense one, and quite plausible. But there is good reason to believe that it falls short of the whole truth, and that the bacteria,

The *arii* Otu, Vehiatua, Hinoi, and the greater part of the Indians of the District, repaired to the bay of *La Virgen* on this day to attend the obsequies of the *arii* Pahairiro; and we directed the Interpreter to join in the throng and watch all the ceremonies attending the interment, that we might be able to speak with some accuracy on the subject. This he did, in accordance with our wish, and on the following day he gave us a true and circumstantial account of all that took place¹.

Dec. 22nd. The *arii* returned with their companions from the interment; and when they came on board they related the affair to the same effect as we had been informed by the Interpreter.

Our carpenters went on fitting the house together; and the Indians made a brisk start at roofing or covering it in with a kind of rushes perfectly plaited together in imitation of those they live under themselves.

The *arii* of the District was very keen to sleep in the house in company with the Interpreter and the marines on sentry duty there; and, this being permitted him, he gave them a quantity of fish for supper, exhibiting every moment his intense enjoyment at seeing himself so finely lodged. When supper was over our people put the room in order for him, but he desired them to change the head

micrococcii, and other invisible organisms that pervade the atmosphere enveloping every ship can and do prove especially virulent, morbific, and fatal to the inhabitants of remote islands, who are not immunised against them by frequent intercourse with strangers. Even dysentery was attributed by the Tahitians to this channel of infection (by the medium of Vancouver's ships); and numerous instances of outbreaks of catarrhal fevers or influenza in similar circumstances are on record both in rarely visited parts of the Pacific, and small outlying islands nearer home—notably St Kilda.

¹ For the Interpreter's account of this function see his own diary, of corresponding date, in the succeeding volume. Although the word interment (*entierro*) is here used we may not assume that the body was buried, but merely eviscerated, anointed or embalmed, and exposed in the *marae* in the customary way, on a staging or elevated bier, or within a mortuary shed.

of the bed round, because it would be an act of irreverence for him to lie with his feet in the direction of the *marae* or temple which stood hard by. They arranged it for him as he wished, and he passed the night quite restfully.

The day was calm, and some showers fell until nightfall, when we experienced a smart land breeze.

Dec. 23rd. The Indians went on with their job of roofing over the house, as fast as our men got along with fitting it together. An auction of the effects of the deceased seaman Manuel Basquez¹ was held: and two launch-loads of firewood were brought off.

Dec. 24th and 25th. A turn was taken out of the cables: and some grass was cut for the live-stock.

Dec. 26th. After early mass had been celebrated the carpenters landed with one of the crew's messes to work at the house, and cut wood. When the boat which had taken them ashore returned, there came in her Vehiatua and several Indians of rank to take their leave of us, saying that they were going on the morrow to the district of Araatea² for three days, in order to entertain some Indians arrived there from the island of Orayatea³, with whom they held friendly relations.

At four in the afternoon we noticed that there was a great hubbub and shouting on shore; and, in a moment, all the canoes that were at that part of the beach put off in confusion. At this the yawl was sent in with an officer, a serjeant, and four men under arms to learn the cause of the turmoil; and a little after she had started away from alongside, the storeship's boat, which had made at once for

¹ Vásquez, the seaman who was killed on Dec. 6th by the fall of a coco-nut palm.

² Elsewhere written *Ayautea* and *Aiautea* in these journals. It appears to have been a district situated a few miles South and West of Tautira, now called Iroroa.

³ *O Ra'iatea.*

the beach with the same object, arrived bringing one of her own seamen very badly wounded in the head. The coxswain reported that an Indian of the gully had stolen three shirts of this man's from the washing that was spread out to dry, and that the seaman went in pursuit of the Indian, overtook him, and gave him a drubbing; but that the latter, on getting free from the seaman, picked up a stone and dealt him three or four blows on the head with it, so that he was left as good as dead.

The boat returned with a message from the officer in charge to the effect that the Indians were so alarmed at this occurrence that in the space of less than half an hour they had cleared their houses of all moveables and had decamped helter-skelter, both by sea and by land. Only Vehiatua, his retainers, and here and there another, were left; and these too were thinking of going off, in consequence of a message just received from the paramount *arii*, who was the first to flee, with all his household.

The Comandante being informed of all [the trouble], I went ashore by his orders with some of the officers; and, directing our steps towards the Mission house, we found the Cacique inside it, weeping bitterly. We consoled him with all possible gentleness and goodwill, and persuaded him not to absent himself nor to have any fear of us, assuring him that no harm would be done him: but that it would be very proper for him to have a search made for the assailant, and that, if the man were found to be really at fault, he should be delivered over to us, or punished by himself—as he well knew that we had done the same with two of the Frigate's men, when the provocation was less. No doubt our request seemed to him justly conceived, for he immediately called his retainers together and despatched them in search of the assailant: remaining in our company himself to await results. At the end of an hour or so they brought in an Indian to us

whom they alleged to be the delinquent, but who himself denied it most strenuously, stating that he was a long distance away at the time the quarrel took place, collecting his fire-wood. We then sent for those of the storeship's crew who had witnessed the scrimmage, and set the Indian accused of being the assailant before them; but they all with one accord declared that he was not the man, and that they knew the real offender quite well.

The Cacique thereupon became perplexed, and, on his blaming his retainers for falsely accusing the prisoner, they insisted that he was the man. But just then an Indian of position and repute arrived on the scene and told his *arii* that the assailant in the struggle had not been the same person who stole the linen, nor was he the Indian then before us, but another,—whom the sailor had belaboured for no better reason than that he came across him near the place; and, having already given him one drubbing, returned to maltreat him a second time, and that then it was he defended himself with the stone.

As it was now past sundown the investigation of this affair was not farther proceeded with; and we retired to the mission house, from whence a message was sent off to the Comandante acquainting him with everything, so that he might form his conclusions as to what course should best be adopted. His decision was, that the man falsely accused should be released: that the tools and implements be collected and the house shut up, and that we should retire on board, and bring the picket off with us, after telling the *arii*, from him, that, in view of the ill return made for all the benefits he and his compatriots had received at our hands, it was no longer his wish that the *Padres* should remain in the island, and that, on the morrow, we would take the house to pieces and have it conveyed on board again.

The *arii* and all his friends were much mortified to

hear the Comandante's resolve, and begged us earnestly not to do that, pledging their word that the offender should be given up the next day. We returned on board, leaving the house in charge of a trustworthy Indian of the *arii*'s suite.

While we were in the boat the corporal belonging to the picket told us that one of Vehiatua's servants had thrown stones at them that same day, because they would not let him go into the house; and that, on his arresting the man, his master came along begging for his release, and pressing them not to mention the matter to the officers, bringing also the Interpreter to back his request; and that, to satisfy the Chief, they had given the man his liberty.

According to the surgeon's report, the injury might prove fatal; and early on the morrow, after the wounded man had acquitted himself of his duties as a Christian, the Holy Sacrament was administered to him.

Dec. 27th. At daybreak on this day a trusty henchman of Vehiatua's, named Taitoa, a man much esteemed by all of ourselves, came on board with a message from his *arii* desiring that some of the officers should land with the Interpreter, and the native Pautu, and saying that he was awaiting them near at hand in order to deliver up the delinquent Indian. By direction of the Comandante I went with brevet-ensign Don Diego Machado, those above mentioned, and the henchman, to join the Cacique where he was; but, finding that he was much farther away than I had supposed, I despatched the Interpreter and the native Pautu with an intimation to him to come nearer to where I was, under a pledge that he should meet with no harm and that I was his true friend. I stayed there, together with the ensign above-named and two marines, awaiting his reply; and in the meanwhile I spoke with the few

Indians who had not forsaken the village, and they told me the story of the quarrel in the same terms as the Indian of position who had explained it to his *arii* [the evening before]. They all seemed greatly concerned at what had happened, and never left off asking us whether we were in anger about it.

Tiffin time arrived, and seeing no appearance of the messengers returning, we went off to the ship.

At half-past one in the afternoon the Interpreter came back, bringing word from Vehiatua to the effect that he was afraid to come lest we should adopt coercive methods towards him; and that if we wished to speak with him and take over the offender an officer should proceed to a point half-way from the frigate to where he then was with the said offender, which meant more than a league.

The Comandante did not assent to this overture, however, but directed the Interpreter to go again to the *arii* and repeat, from himself, the same assurances of personal safety, and to make him see the delay his absence was causing us; for it was now his intention to go on with the work on the house, and without the *arii's* presence the natives would do nothing. At two o'clock the Interpreter started off to put this argument [before the Chief], and at four most of us officers proceeded ashore, taking with us the youngest of the Indians we had carried to Lima on the previous voyage; and we traversed all the outskirts of the village without meeting with any incident among the few Indian stragglers there.

Prompted by his relatives, who had come on purpose to carry him off, the aforesaid youth made an attempt to escape from our party; but being intercepted in it he declared in the most resolute manner that we might strip him to the skin if we liked, but that he would not go back to the Frigate. At sunset, the Interpreter not having put in an appearance, we withdrew to the Frigate,

being accompanied as far as the beach by the Indians of the village, now convinced of our friendship and satisfied that no harm would be done them ; they even offered to resume the work of roofing over the house at break of day.

When we got on board the Comandante decided to send a picket of twelve marines under a serjeant to mount guard over the house, and that the launch, armed and under the orders of an officer, should remain at anchor near the beach through the night to cover their position, so that the marines should have somewhere to retire to in the event of the Indians making any attack on them.

Dec. 28th. At daybreak we saw the Indians of the beach laden with thatch with which they were going to roof in the house, as they had promised.

At nine o'clock the Indian Taitoa (our good friend), and the Interpreter, came on board with the news that the *arii* had not come since the previous day because the native Tomas Pautu had represented to him that we intended to carry him off to Lima, as well as the paramount *arii* and his brother Hinoi—just as, on the former voyage, we had taken away himself and his three companions ; and that, being persuaded this was really the case, Vehiatua despaired of ever regaining our friendship and had yielded to many earnest solicitations that the prisoner might be restored to liberty.

The Interpreter, seeing the *arii* and all his people impressed by the false notions this Pautu had imbued them with, assured them that there was no truth in it all ; and, making Pautu come before him by command of the *arii*, he harangued the bystanders in a loud voice, relating to them all the good treatment extended to Pautu and his companions both at Lima and during the course of the voyage,—the particular esteem in which the Most

Excellent the Lord Viceroy had held them, lodging them in his palace, clothing them handsomely, always watchful of their health, and seeing that they had amusements, the variety of presents too with which they were loaded when they came away—and drawing their attention to the absence of any motive this faithless Indian could have for fomenting such a mischievous lie as that we wanted to carry off the three highest personages of the island, which was an idea that had never so much as crossed our imaginations¹.

This appeal by the Interpreter made such an impression on the company that, seeing Pautu had nothing to say in rejoinder, they hustled him out of their presence, while his own chiefs and elders abused him with a thousand reproaches.

But, notwithstanding their having given such clear proofs of goodwill, and being apparently satisfied that nothing was intended against them, the *arii* continued firm in his refusal to go back to his District unless one of our officers should come unarmed to where he then was and would guarantee that there should be no harm done him.

The whole statement of the Indian Taitoa and the Interpreter being made known to the Comandante, he recognised how strong was the repugnance on the part of the natives to give up the assailant; and he took it for expedient that we should waive our claim, since, in

¹ It is stated, nevertheless, by the *Padres* in their diary, under Dec. 26th, that Don Nicolás Toledo did make a suggestion to the Comandante at this time that they should seize Vehiatua, and detain him on board the frigate as a hostage until the real author of the wound the seaman had received should be given up and punished. And he quoted Capt. Cook's action at *Matavai* in forcibly detaining three principal Chiefs (on board the *Endeavour* in July 1769) simply to secure the arrest of a deserter whom a few of the natives were suspected of harbouring. The *Padres*, in their diary, claim that they contested Don Nicolás's proposal, on the ground that were it put into practice, the Tahitians might avenge themselves on the mission and those who comprised it, after the frigate's departure. See the quotation at page 210 of this volume; and cf. Bibl. no. 30, p. 85.

the contrary event, it would be necessary to resort to forcible measures of some kind, which would be prejudicial to the aims [of our commission]. He therefore decided that I should go and look for the *arii*, accompanied by the brevet-ensign, and assure him in the Comandante's name that no harm should be done him, and that none had ever been intended. Furthermore, as regarded the Indian who had been arrested, the *arii* was to give himself no anxiety on account of having restored him to liberty: because, the facts of the encounter having now been sifted to the bottom, he held the Indian absolved from blame—the seaman having twice maltreated him without any justification—and therefore the *arii* should no longer doubt the Comandante's friendship.

We left the ship at ten in the forenoon on this errand, in company with the Interpreter and the Indian Taitoa, who guided us to where Vehiatua was staying with all his following. He came to us as soon as we had landed, with a very grateful look in his face, and received us with many embraces. I duly stated to him in the name of the Comandante all that I was instructed to convey; and all the people present showed great satisfaction at being relieved from the obligation to give up the assailant, as well as at the reconciliation by which they regained our friendship: in proof of which the *arii* sent for a hog and a bunch of plantains and made me an offering of them, saying that he would go on board the Frigate on the morrow himself. I expressed to him some lack of confidence in his resolution, saying that I feared he might allow himself to be influenced again by Pautu and perhaps not come after all. On this he assured me to the contrary, pledging his word by the hog and the bunch of plantains he had just presented, and declaring that, but for the *arii* Otu's absence, he would go off with me there and then. I summoned Taitoa to my side to

further vouch for the *arii*'s good faith, and the latter told him to go along with me in the boat and see all the necessary arrangements made for getting on with the thatching job with despatch; and, no longer feeling the slightest doubt that he would fulfil his promise, I begged him to bring the paramount *arii* with him. He answered that that might be very difficult, because the latter was seized with apprehension due to the promptings of Pautu; but that, for his own part, he would spare no pains to get him to come.

The colloquy being at an end, I took leave of the *arii* and those around him, and set out for the Frigate with the same members of my party in the boat as had accompanied me [all day]; and, when I had acquainted the Comandante with all that had passed, he expressed satisfaction and decided to withdraw the picket from the house and to leave that building in the care of the Indian Taitoa and the Interpreter.

Dec. 29th. The carpenters proceeded with their work on the house, and the Indians with the thatching, as arranged for by Taitoa.

In the afternoon the *arii* Vehiatua, with Otu's brother Hinoi and his mother Fayere¹, came: all showing deep satisfaction at being re-established in our friendship. They told us they had slipped away unnoticed while the *arii* Otu was asleep, for that, had he been awake, he would never have assented to their coming, owing to the nervous apprehension Pautu's wiles had inspired in him. They said that they were obliged, themselves, to go away to *Aiautea* to take their share in entertaining the high Chiefs of the island *Orayatea*; but would return with the *arii* Otu and all his suite within three days; and added that

¹ This name is unfamiliar. Máximo writes it 'Bayere' in his diary of the 30th. Cf. note 2, p. 137: can Fayere mean Vairao?

their coming now had no other object than that we should feel thoroughly assured of their friendship.

They mentioned to us that Tomas Pautu had given away all his clothes, and was going about in his bare skin, wearing nothing but the breech-clout¹.

Dec. 30th. The carpentering work about the house was finished to-day; and the working party filled in the rest of their time cutting fire-wood for use on board. The Indians came alongside in their canoes to pursue their traffic with our people in the same fashion as before.

Dec. 31st. The Indians completed their job of roofing over the house; and the stock of provisions, utensils, and furniture for the missionary *Padres* was landed.

When satisfied that everything had been duly delivered they gave a certificate accordingly. Fifteen packages of flannel and cotton shirts were handed over to them as extras, being some that had come at the disposal of the Comandante for distribution among the Indians as he might think fit, in order that in this way they should be put to good purpose.

The *Padres* took over possession of the house and slept in it from that night forward, in company with the Interpreter, the native Maititi, Tetuanui, and an uncle of his.

The Comandante summoned all the officers to meet him in the cabin, to decide upon a day for the erection of the Most Holy Cross in token of possession; and we agreed that it should be done on the morrow, being the first day of the year 1775.

¹ The whole of this incident is related in even greater detail in the Interpreter's Journal; see vol. III.

It appears as if the native who retaliated on the seaman for his misguided assault upon him had been some person of eminence—perhaps a near relative of Vehiatua or even of Tu; for there was clearly a very strong reluctance to deliver up the real culprit or even to let his identity be known, notwithstanding that these Chiefs had Capt. Cook's seizure of Tutaha, Purea, and her brother Tepau i Ahurai vividly in mind.

Anno 1775.

Jan. 1st. In accordance with what had been agreed upon the day before, the marines were mustered under arms at eight o'clock in the morning with their several officers, and were ordered to proceed ashore and form up on the beach; and a little while later the yawl followed, conveying the Most Holy Cross, accompanied by the [ship's] chaplains and all the combatant officers. On transferring it to the shore the marines fired a volley, and a solemn procession being formed, with a sufficient number of lighted candles, it was borne forward towards the mission house and the Litany of the Saints was chanted the while. The Cross was erected in front of the building, and the marines at this time fired a second volley. First mass was then celebrated in token of thanksgiving and in honour of the Most Holy Cross; after the benediction a third volley of musketry was fired off, to which the frigate responded with a salute of twenty-one guns. The *Salve Regina* was next sung, at the conclusion of which we all of us adored the Most Holy Cross with the veneration and respect due to it: and the function ended.

An infinite number of Indians collected at this unwonted event, for besides those belonging to the District there came others from all the neighbouring parts. They stood around in a most respectful and subdued manner, watching all that passed; many of them climbed trees in order to see the better, and seemed lost in wonderment, so that they put many quaint and pointed questions to us on the subject. At eleven o'clock we retired on board; and nothing else that was noteworthy occurred during the day.

At nine o'clock at night, when most of us were on the quarter-deck enjoying the cool air, the sentry at the gangway called out that there were some Indians hiding in the cha'n'ales. On hearing this the watch on deck laid hold of their arms and on going to search [that part of the ship] the quarry took to the water; but the launch and yawl being piped away in pursuit of them, two Indians were brought on board after much trouble: for, being excellent swimmers, they dived and came up a long way away as often as the boats got near them. We made them fast in the bilboes; and, on asking them what had been their intention, they confessed that they wanted to make off with some hoop iron they had seen in the afternoon, and that they had reckoned on our being asleep.

Jan. 2nd. The affair of the two thieves we had secured was told to Taitoa, and he was asked to choose whether he would himself punish them in our presence, or whether they should be punished on board by us: and, having assented to the second [alternative], they were given a very mild flogging¹—so much so that Taitoa was quite annoyed because they did not catch it more severely, and proceeded to pummel them with kicks and fisticuffs to an extent that made it necessary for us to intervene and restrain him from further chastising them on shore.

Jan. 3rd and 4th. Several launch-loads of wood and two of ballast were brought off, and stowed against the magazine bulkhead. The fore and main lower rigging was set up, the weed cleaned off from the frigate, and sails bent.

The Indians, knowing that we were on the eve of sailing for *Orayatea*, brought quantities of fruit and hogs to barter with our people.

¹ Fifty lashes apiece, say the *Padres* in their diary of even date.

Jan. 5th. O Vehiatua, Otu, and all his following who had just arrived from *Aiautea*, came off to the frigate and remained on board most of the forenoon in very friendly converse with us all.

We fired the first gun for departure, and loosed the fore-topsail.

At four o'clock in the afternoon all the combatant officers, the Paymaster, and the missionary *Padres*, being assembled in the mission house by direction of the Comandante, we invited (through the medium of the Interpreter) all the principal *arii* and Indians of distinction in the island to join us there, for the purpose of formally installing our Mission; and, having first asked the Chiefs whether it were their pleasure that the aforesaid *Padres* and the Interpreter should remain in the island or no, they all unanimously answered that it was: the two principal Caciques, O Vehiatua and Otu, promising of their own accord that they would befriend them and shield them against any aggression on the part of the inhabitants of their island, contribute towards their subsistence, and supply them, if at any time their own class of provisions should run short, with so much as they might have need for. At the same time, they discreetly warned us that in the possible event of our missionaries suffering any reverse at the hands of the people of the island of *Morea* (with whom they themselves were not on friendly terms), or by reason of any foreign ship against which they [the Tahitians] might not be able to offer resistance, they were not to be held in any way responsible.

They were made to understand, through the medium of the Interpreter, the greatness of our Sovereign, the indisputable right he holds over all the islands adjacent to his vast dominions, and his desire to befriend and instruct their people in order that they may be superior to all who dwell in similar ignorance. Next, by virtue

of the warranty under which His Majesty deigned to authorise us in the eleventh article of the Instructions for our commission, we offered in his Royal name to provide them with tools and implements in plenty and to defend them against their enemies; and undertook that they should be frequently visited by His Majesty's ships, so long as they should faithfully carry out what they had promised.

At this they all manifested a lively satisfaction and loudly declared that they acknowledged His Majesty as King over Tahiti and all its lands, the terms of this convention being greatly to their liking.

All this is placed on record in a formal instrument legally attested by the Paymaster of the Frigate, Don Pedro Freyre de Andrade¹.

¹ *Viz.* the instrument or deed of which the translation next follows. The actual document, written and signed by the *contador* of the *Aguila* Don Pedro Freyre de Andrade with his name and rubric, is preserved in the *Archivo General de Indias* at Sevilla [Est. 112—Caj. 4—Leg. 11]; its text is printed among the Supplementary Papers in this volume with all faults, and errors of punctuation, from a copy I made of the original, *literatim*. Perhaps the best name for this interesting and little-known Hispano-Tahitian agreement would be the “Convention of *Hututira*, 1775.” It had no permanent value or effect, because the Spanish Government was prevented by weightier matters, in relation with its South American dominions and the course of political events in Europe, from keeping up communication with Tahiti after the abandonment of its Mission later in the same year. But so long as that Mission remained in the island, and for some time afterward, the Chiefs loyally fulfilled the stipulations they had assented to as their part of the agreement; and their good faith is attested not merely by the diary of the missionaries and that of the Interpreter Máximo, and the Report of Commander de Lángara, but by Captain Cook in his account of his subsequent visit to *Vaitepiha* Bay in the *Resolution*, in 1777, where he observes that the Tahitians “upon every occasion, mentioned them [the Spaniards] with the strongest expressions of esteem and veneration” [Bibl. no. 28, vol. II, p. 12].

Captain Wallis had, it is true, claimed the soil of Tahiti for the Crown of Great Britain in 1767; but that act was performed without any bargain or even conference with the Chiefs, who could have no notion of its significance because it took place only two days after their first known intercourse with white men, when interpretation was in its veriest infancy. His method was to turn a turf and hoist a pendant on a staff at *Matavai*—which the natives removed the same night. They respected the Spaniards' cross, however, and allowed

[THE CONVENTION.]

Don PEDRO FREYRE DE ANDRADE, Staff Paymaster in the Royal Navy serving in His Majesty's Frigate the *Santa Maria Magdalena* (alias) *Aguila* :—

I Certify That :—On the fifth day of January of the year present at four o'clock in the afternoon the combatant officers Don Thomas Gayangos, senior lieutenant: Don Raymundo Bonacorsi, junior *idem*: Don Nicolas Toledo, senior ensign: Don Juan de Apodaca, junior ensign: and Don Juan Hervé, *idem* and Master: together with the two Missionary *Padres* Fr. Geronimo Clota and Fr. Narciso Gonzales: being by direction of the Comandante of this vessel, Don DOMINGO DE BOENECHEA, all assembled in the settlement house, we did through the Interpreter convoke the principal Chiefs and Elders of the Indians of the District [to meet here] for the inauguration of our establishment.

And having questioned them as to whether it were their pleasure or no that the said *Padres* and the Interpreter should remain in their Island they unanimously answered that it was: the two principal *arii* Bexiatùa and Hotù promising of their own accord to befriend and shield them against any affront on the part of the inhabitants of the Island, to contribute towards their subsistence, and, if on occasion the *Padres* should be in lack of their accustomed provisions, to supply them with such as they themselves enjoy: discreetly warning us, however, at the same time, that, in the event of our people being hard put

it to remain in position: until, in August 1777, Captain Cook "preserved the memory of the prior visits of the English," as he puts it, by obliterating the name CAROLUS III IMPERATOR from it and substituting GEORGIUS TERTIUS REX. How seriously the King of Spain viewed that procedure is made manifest in a later despatch in this volume (Gálvez, March 6th, 1782).

to it by the natives of the island of *Morea* (with whom they [the Tahitians] were not on friendly terms) or by any foreign ship against whom they [the Tahitians] might not be able to cope, they were not to be held in any way responsible.

They were made to understand, through the medium of the Interpreter, the greatness of our Sovereign and the indisputable right he holds over all the islands adjacent to his vast dominions, as well as his desire to befriend and enlighten their people so that they may be superior to all who dwell in similar ignorance: and, by virtue of the warranty under which His Majesty has deigned to authorise us in the eleventh Article of our Instructions, we made offer in his Royal name to keep them supplied with tools and implements, and to defend them against their enemies, undertaking that they would be frequently visited by His Majesty's ships, so long as they should faithfully act up to that which they had promised.

At this all of them manifested a lively satisfaction and loudly declared that they acknowledged His Majesty as King over *Otaheyte* and all its lands, the terms of this Convention being greatly to their liking.

In Witness Whereof: and in order that the facts and purposes hereinbefore recited may be duly attested: I deliver this as my Act and Deed: On board of the Frigate aforesaid at anchor in Port *Oxatutira* of the Eastern Island of AMAT, alias *Hotaheyti*, on the fifth of January in the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five.

Jan. 6th. A number of canoes came into harbour under sail, laden with provisions from a neighbouring island called *Teturoa*, which is tributary to the principal *arii*¹.

The second gun for departure was fired; and we weighed one of the anchors laid out to the N.

An order was given to the storeship to hold herself ready to proceed to sea on the morrow so soon as the Frigate should do so.

Jan. 7th. We weighed the other anchor out N. between seven and eight o'clock in the morning, and remained riding to the southern one, and a kedge for use with a spring to cant her by when getting under way.

At nine the wind came along, fresh, from the E.S.E.; and we got away without misadventure of any kind.

The *arii* and Indians of rank stayed with us until the latest possible moment, when, taking an affectionate farewell of us all, they gave us an infinity of assurances of their regard; and, after we had charged them all to act kindly by the missionary *Padres*, they finally quitted us in great distress at our absence.

A great many of them begged us to take them with us to the Island *Orayatea*; but the Comandante would not allow more than three to embark, one of them in the quality of coastal pilot; and the other two at the instance of the *arii* Otu and Vehiatua, being commissioned by them to bring them over a supply of *ava*—a shrub from which they extract a liquor they are very fond of².

The storeship *Jupiter* came up with us by eleven o'clock; and we forthwith shaped a course for the island mentioned, with her in company.

¹ See the note on next page.

² See p. 85, note 1, and cf. p. 130.

[NARRATIVE of the Voyage of the *Aguila* from TAHITI towards RA'IATEA, and back to TAHITI: Jan. 7th to 20th, 1775.]

On the 7th of January, 1775, at ten o'clock in the forenoon, we made sail from the harbour of *Santa Cruz de Ohatutira* with a fresh breeze from E.S.E., in company with the storeship *Jupiter*, bound for the island *Orayatea*. We hoisted in the launch and the boat, and steered towards the N.W. under plain sail.

On the following day, at sunrise, an island was in sight bearing N. $\frac{1}{4}$ N.E. six leagues distant, called by the natives *Teturoa*, to which we gave the name of *Los tres Hermanos*. It bears N. 8° E. from the N.W. point of AMAT's, distant $3\frac{2}{3}$ leagues; that of *Santo Domingo* being situated to the Westward, distant three leagues from the said point.

The island of *Los tres Hermanos* lies in lat. 17° S. and in long. $231^{\circ} 50'$: its extent and configuration will be seen on the plan¹.

¹ I have seen no separate plan of *Los tres Hermanos*, but the atoll appears on Hervé's general chart of the Tahitian archipelago, re-drawn by Baleato, which exists in the *Depósito Hidrográfico* at Madrid and shows 22 islands in all. *Teturoa*, now called *Tetiaroa*, comprises seven low palm-clad islets within and upon a single encircling reef about six miles in length by three transversely. There is no deep sea passage into the lagoon, but a shallow depression in the reef allows boats and canoes to enter in fine weather. *Tetiaroa* was not "tributary" to Tu, as Gayangos puts it: it formed a part of his patrimony in real estate handed down from remote times, and continued under his successors to be their freehold family demesne until 1908, when the present inheritor, the *arri* Hinoi, sold it outright, and it became the property of Dr W. Johnstone Williams, whom I take this opportunity of again thanking for many civilities extended to me during my sojourn at Tahiti in 1908-9.

The lagoon has a great reputation for its fish; while several of the islets are renowned for the cool yet balmy air whose softness may be enjoyed under the leafy canopy of the magnificent *tamanu* trees that stud them near the beach and amidst the palm groves. In former times *Teturoa* was the fashionable sea-side resort of the reigning family and their coterie, and became the scene of many revels in which the confraternity of the *Arioi* had their share. Ellis, writing between 1817 and 1829, says that "it was also frequented by the females of the higher class for the purposes of *haapori*—increasing the corpulency of their persons—and removing, by luxurious ease

We continued westwards with everything set until ten o'clock that night, when we hove to under the three topsails.

At half-past five in the morning all sail was again made, on the same course: at half-past six there was visible in the W.N.W. 5° N. an island, which the natives call "Oahine," distant nine or ten leagues. It lies in lat. $17^{\circ} 20'$ S. and long. $230^{\circ} 41'$, and is distant from *Santo Domingo* 22 leagues in the direction N.W. $7\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ W. We gave it the name *La Hermosa*: its extent and configuration will be seen on the plan of it¹.

At a quarter before eight o'clock another island was sighted from the foretop, which bore S.W. $\frac{1}{4}$ S. distant seven leagues, and is called "Tupuaemanu." It lies in lat. $17^{\circ} 30'$ S. and long. $230^{\circ} 46'$, being 13 leagues distant from *Santo Domingo*, whence it bears W. $5^{\circ} 45'$ S. We

under the embowering shade of the coco-nut groves, the dark tinge which the vertical sun of Tahiti might have burnt upon the complexions. So great was the intercourse formerly, that a hundred canoes have been seen at a time upon the beach of Teturoa" [Bibl. no. 36, vol. I, p. 173]. The meaning of *haapori* is to wax buxom, a type of figure which all well-bred Polynesian matrons aspire towards, and few do not achieve.

The bearings and distances given by Gayangos for *Teturoa* are fairly correct, allowing for the difference in magnetic deviation between his time and now. The exact position of the S.E. extreme of the atoll, according to the Adm. Sailing Directions, is lat. $17^{\circ} 6'$ S., long. $149^{\circ} 30'$ W.; bearing about 25 miles N. 15° W. from Point Venus (*Matorvai*). *Ermanos* is, of course, antiquated spelling for *Hermanos*—‘Brothers.’

¹ *Huahine*, as it is now usually spelt, well merits the name Boenechea bestowed upon it, being one of the most attractive and beautiful islands in the Pacific. The waters of its lagoon are so still, and the shore is so steep-to, that I have lain alongside the beach of *Fare* harbour (“Owharre” of Capt. Cook) in a 1600-ton steamer, her head and stern lines made fast to coco-nut palms and hauled in upon until her bilge rested against the sand. The position estimated for it by Gayangos is 5° short of its true meridian, and 35 miles too far South. The latitude is, however, correctly quoted on his chart (in the pocket at the end of this volume), and by Andia y Varela (in his journal) who was only $1^{\circ} 20'$ astray in its longitude. The centre of *Huahine* is actually in lat. $16^{\circ} 45'$, and the 151st meridian West of Greenwich bisects the island. See the section of Hervé’s general chart, re-drawn by Baleato, in the pocket.

named it *La Pelada*: its extent and configuration will be seen on the plan¹.

At nine the island *Orayatea*² came into view, bearing W. $\frac{1}{4}$ N.W., fourteen to fifteen leagues distant; and we headed towards it until nightfall, after which we stood off and on, making short boards under easy canvas, as the weather was inclined to be thick and squally.

At daybreak on the 10th we stood in towards the land, heading N.N.W. 5° W. At ten o'clock we bore up S.W. $\frac{1}{4}$ W. to pass round the South extreme of the island, succeeding in which we tried to reach close in under its western coast, as the Indian pilot told us the harbour lay on that side. An island the natives call "Porapora" now came into view, and lies in lat. $16^{\circ} 30'$ S. and long. $229^{\circ} 47'$, three leagues to the westward of the N. end of *La Princesa*³. We stood off and on all night, making short boards fairly close in with the coast, the wind being from E. to N.E.: and at half-past five in the morning of the 11th we bore up towards the N.W. until we got within a league and a half or two leagues of the land. At eight we lowered the yawl into the water and sent her in, armed, under the orders of Ensign Don Juan de Apodaca⁴, who was

¹ Not reproduced. The latitude, bearing and distance from *Mo'orea*, are approximately correct but slightly under-stated: the longitude is again wrong. *Pelada* means denuded or bare. See p. 166, note 4.

² *O Ra'iatea*.

³ *La Princesa* is the name Boenechea gave to *Raiatea*.

In the next paragraph Gayangos quotes *Porapora* as *San Pedro's*; and Andía y Varela states specifically, in his journal (*postea*), that this name was given to it by the expedition. Its latitude is here correctly stated, and the bearing quoted from "the N. end of *La Princesa*," by which in this instance we must understand *Tahaa*, is not much in error.

⁴ This young Basque afterwards became a very distinguished officer, and eventually filled the highest administrative positions in the Navy and the State. He was created Conde de Venadito in 1818, while Viceroy of New Spain, and returned home to be Director General and Commander-in-Chief of the Navy. I have therefore given an outline of his career in the Introduction (vol. I, p. lvii); but the reader who desires more details of his life may consult Pavía [Bibl. no. 85], Fernández de Navarrete [Bibl. no. 38 (a)], and the fuller biography by his own nephew Gabriel [Bibl. no. 42 *ter*].

instructed to hold intercourse with the natives through the medium of the Indian pilot Barbarua¹, and to make an examination of the harbour, in which we were assured an English frigate had anchored on three separate occasions.

About this time we sighted an island the natives call "Maurua," which is in lat. $16^{\circ} 30'$ S. and long. $229^{\circ} 35'$, and bears E. and W. with *San Pedro's*. We named it *San Antonio*: its extent and configuration will be seen on the plan².

The boat returned to the ship at five in the afternoon, and reported having communicated with the natives of *Orayatea*, surveyed the harbour, and made a plan of it on which its outline and extent and the quality of the bottom are shown. We passed the whole night standing off and on, with the wind at N.E., gusty, in order to keep in position for making the harbour in question; but, at eight o'clock on the 12th, the prevailing wind being adverse for entering, the yawl was lowered away and sent in under the orders of Ensign Don Nicolas de Toledo to look at a bay that bore the appearance of being a good one, and was situated to the south'ard, between the above mentioned harbour and the South end of the island. At four o'clock in the afternoon she returned with the information that the bay in question is studded all over with rocky patches which entirely unfit it for resort, and that a barrier reef stretches in front of it³.

We passed the night standing off and on, with the

¹ 'Barbarua' is an impossible spelling for a Tahitian name. In the several copies of Andía y Varela's journal [Bibl. no. MSS. 5, 9, 10, 12—and Printed Books 7 (b), 47 (c), 94 (b)] it occurs variously as 'Mabarua,' 'Mavarua,' and 'Matarua.'

² Not reproduced. The summit of *Maurua* (now also called *Mau-piti*) is in lat. $16^{\circ} 26' 30''$, and its bearing with *Porapora* is W. and E.

³ These particulars are insufficient to identify the bay by: there are three passages through the reef in the tract mentioned. The plan suggests the bay of *Tetoroa*, however, which is not a good spot, nor is the *Tiano* passage that leads into it. The best entrance they could have made for is *Rautoanui*, but with the prevailing easterly winds it is difficult of access for sailing-ships.

wind from the first quadrant; and at half-past seven in the morning of the next day [13th] the Comandante summoned all the officers to meet in Council. He called our attention to the persistence with which the wind continued contrary for taking the harbour, and to the Indian pilot's statement that it usually is so at this season of the year; he then asked our opinions as to whether it would be proper or no to await a fair wind to go in with, and so carry out what was required of us by the Instructions. And when we had all thought over the circumstances of the voyage, and the fact that we had to call again at AMAT's Island, and also that we might experience considerable delays during the voyage homeward to the port of El Callao unless the wind should favour us nicely, it was our united opinion that we ought to relinquish the attempt and return to the harbour of *Santa Cruz de Ohatutira*, seeing that we had already effected our principal duty at *Orayatea*. Our resolution was approved by the Comandante, and we accordingly shaped a course for that harbour, with the storeship in company.

The island *Orayatea* lies in lat. $16^{\circ} 40'$ S. and long. $230^{\circ} 8'$. It bears W. $\frac{1}{4}$ N.W. 4° N. four and a half leagues from *La Hermosa*, and we named it *La Princesa*¹. It is

¹ Boenechea was not the first European discoverer of *Raiatea*, anciently called *Havaiki*, for Capt. Cook had already visited it three times and partially explored both sides of the island, although neither Wallis nor Bougainville sighted it. According to the anonymous account of Cook's voyage in the *Endeavour* [Bibl. no. 103, p. 65] Tupaia told Cook "that, in the lifetime of his grandfather, a ship had been wrecked on the island of *Uliateah* [*O Raiatea*], and that the few of her crew who were not drowned were killed by the inhabitants; and that, from this wreck, they had procured the first iron which had ever been seen among them, and formed it into chissels, knives, &c." I, too, heard a similar story related at Tahiti; but, being unacquainted at that time with the volume above cited, I understood my informant's statement to be derived directly from native tradition, and forbore from any attempt to trace it back to a more exact source or to challenge its authenticity. The elder Forster briefly quotes the same story, but alludes to the ship as a 'friendly' one [Bibl. no. 41, p. 516]. It is pretty clear, however, that the wreck of Roggeveen's *Afrikaansche Galey* in 1723 had become known in *Raiatea* and Tahiti,

mountainous, surrounded by a reef, well watered, highly-fertile apparently, and easier of cultivation than AMAT's. It produces abundance of Coco-nuts, Plantains, *uru*, Hogs, and Fowls. Its natives are in all respects similar to those

and that fragments of metal had reached these islands from that source, either by way of *Makatea* or of *Fakarivai* and *Anaa*.

M. de Bougainville pretended to connect the word *auri*, used by the Tahitians to denote iron as contradistinguished from hard wood or stone, with the English word 'iron'—"qui se prononce *airon*," he explains; and assumes that they got their first iron from H.M.S. *Dolphin*, eight months only before his own visit [Bibl. no. 19, p. 232]. J. R. Forster hazards the view that *auri* was adopted by Pacific Islanders from the Spanish term *hierro* = Lat. *ferrum*, and that thus mutilated it travelled eastwards across the ocean from the Philippine Islands, *via* the Ladrones [Bibl. no. 41, p. 367-8]. Neither of these theories will appeal to philologists; for, with our more extended modern knowledge of the various branches of the Malayo-Polynesian tongue, it does not seem requisite or reasonable that one should seek outside it for a derivation until its own compass has been exhausted. It is a rather significant fact that an exotic article, like iron, is called not by the same name but by many different ones in the several groups of islands inhabited by the Polynesian race. May this be explained by its first introduction at one place having produced a different impression on the native mind from that produced at another place? In one instance its colour may have struck the native eye as a distinguishing feature, in another its characteristic hardness may have determined the mental impression. The most ready simile for a tenpenny nail or any iron bar would, to a native who previously knew no metals, be a spike or pin of hard wood, or a length cut from the small straight stem of some young sapling. In point of fact *auri*, or *kauri* as it occurs in the Tuamotu islands, means not only 'iron' but a 'sapling'; and even an old iron cannon might be taken to resemble a small hollowed tree-trunk, to say nothing of a musket barrel being likened to a new variety of bamboo. The natives of *Huahine* carried their idea of the analogy between iron nails and carpenters' tools on the one hand, and the growth of the stems of plants or young trees on the other, so far, that the arch-tahua of *Hiro*, believing them to be products of the vegetable kingdom, actually planted a number of iron implements, that were abstracted from one of Capt. Cook's ships, in the soil of the famous *mrae* at Tiva, expecting that they would germinate and fructify [Bibl. no. 4].

Other natives might pay more attention to the blackish colour of iron than to the rod- or stick-like form in which the first nail came before their eyes. 'Blackish' in Tahitian is *uri*; and *a*, being an indefinable prefix, *auri* might be thought to convey the idea of an unfamiliar "black stuff" whose colour attribute was its first and main distinguishing feature to attract the uninitiated native's attention. But iron probably reached the various oceanic populations from several independent non-native sources at sundry different times; so that the absence of a root-word for it common to all or most of the dialects of the Malayo-Polynesian stock should be regarded as significant rather than surprising.

of AMAT's Island. Its *arii* is named Tupuni¹, and many of the adjacent islands are tributary to him.

The northern portion of the island lies separated from the rest by a reef, which carries half a *vara* of water over it in places but uncovers at others. This part is distinguished by the name "Tahá²." The outline and extent of both portions, and also of the harbour situated in the district of Guamanino³, will be seen on their respective plans.

On the 14th, at half-past eleven in the forenoon, an island appeared in sight bearing S. 5° W., distant twelve leagues, that the natives call "Manua," being situated in lat. $17^{\circ} 53'$ S. and long. $230^{\circ} 31'$. It lies $22\frac{1}{2}$ leagues to the S. of *La Hermosa*; and the name *Isla de Pajaros* was given to it. It will be seen on the plan⁴.

¹ Cook and Banks call him "Opoony"—that is, *O Puni*. The latter describes him as "King of the *Tata-toa* or clubmen...the terror of all others" but in person "an old, decrepit, half-blind man, who seemed to have scarce reason enough left to send hogs, much less gallantry enough to send ladies" [Bibl. no. 10, p. 122]. Capt. Cook also writes of "his Stupidity, for such he appeared to be" [Bibl. no. 30, p. 116]. Puni was nevertheless a renowned and powerful Chief, ruler of *Porapora* originally, who brought *Maurua*, *Tahaa* and the greater part of *Ra'iataea* itself under his sway; *taata tou* means 'braves' or 'warrior clan,' and their leader was feared even in Tahiti as a daring marauder and something of a tyrant, though it does not appear that he ever pursued his advantages so far East.

² *Tahaa*, as now spelt.

³ Intended for *Haamanino* (also thus quoted by Cook), a locality on the West side of *Ra'iataea* where the *Rautoanui* passage leads into the lagoon, and forms a placid (*manino*) harbour. See note 3, p. 163.

⁴ This was a misconception. No land exists in the direction stated, nor anywhere near the position assigned, except *Tupuaemanu*, which they had already sighted and named *La Pelada* on Jan. 9, before reaching *Ra'iataea*. The two positions here quoted are some 33 miles from each other, and neither is correct even for *Tupuaemanu*, whose true latitude is $17^{\circ} 38'$, and long. $150^{\circ} 37'$, or about midway between Tahiti and *Ra'iataea* though South of the direct rhumb.

Andía y Varela makes no mention of *Tupuaemanu* on his passage towards *Ra'iataea*. But he declares that he "saw two other islands in the far distance" during the return voyage to Tahiti and that "one was called *Tupuemanu*, and the other *Emanu* or 'Isla de Pajaros'" (which is in fact the same, translated). This similarity of the names helps to affirm the identity of the two peaks as one island, which can only have been *Tupuaemanu* otherwise known as *Mai'ao iti*,

On the 15th, at half-past six in the morning, we sighted the South part of *Santo Domingo*, and a little later the N.W. extreme of AMAT's.

On the 16th, at daybreak, not being able to fetch round the North side [of Tahiti] owing to the wind being scant, we bore up towards the southern end. At half-past two in the afternoon, at which time we were becalmed, with the sails flapping against the masts, we experienced a violent eddy of wind which snapped our main-topsail yard at the tye and split the sail, without striking our for'ard gear at all.'

On the 18th, our Comandante Dⁿ Domingo de Boenechea being overtaken by sudden illness of a grave nature, the holy sacraments of the Eucharist and Extreme Unction were administered to him.

On the 20th, our Comandante, finding himself further prostrated by the weight of his illness, and unable to give attention to his official responsibilities, deputed the command to me; and, the wind being favourable for making port, I signalled the storeship to see all ready for anchoring, which I succeeded in doing by two o'clock in the afternoon of that day, as did also the storeship shortly afterwards.

I moored the Frigate more under the shelter of the reef than before, with one anchor out South, and another to the

and this last name has a close affinity to *Tapuae* in meaning. It was Capt. Wallis who discovered this island (in 1767) and he made a sketch of it (now in the possession of Sir Everard im Thurn) which shows very plainly the two bifid peaks that form its forest-clad main body. The highest point reaches an elevation of 780 feet only. They have a common base, surrounded by a low-lying fertile plain abounding with coco-nut palms, and beyond it a small lagoon within the sea-reef. Cf. Bibl. nos. I bis, 4, and 51, in the last of which an engraving reduced from the sketch appears as "Sir Charles Saunders' Island" [vol. I, p. 491]. Wallis noticed that the heads of the palms were wanting, so that the island bore an appearance of having been swept by a hurricane. If the natives on board the *Aquila* mentioned this occurrence to the Spaniards it may account for their having named it *La Pelada*—'the denuded.' See also note 2, p. 190.

nor'ard supplemented by a kedge: and the storeship *Jupiter* brought up astern of me in similar fashion¹.

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at the harbour of *Santa Cruz de Ohatutira* after our return from *Orayatea*.

Jan. 20th of the same year.

The *arii* Otu and Vehiatua immediately came on board with their following, and the Interpreter; and presented us with a quantity of fruit and some hogs, commanding us highly for the speediness of our return. They were greatly disappointed at our not having brought them the *ava* shrubs they had so earnestly charged us to procure; but remained satisfied when they heard we had been unable to take the ship into harbour in consequence of contrary winds.

The Interpreter reported that these *arii* had treated them very well during our absence and had sent them fresh fish on most days; but that the *Padres* were much disconcerted by reason of the numerous concourse of Indians who had collected together at certain public pastimes, which began to take place on the day after our departure and became prolonged into a continuous orgie. All the company being desirous of seeing the mission house, the *Padres* were left no peace at any hour in the day; and, fearing that some bodily maltreatment might result to them out of the general uproar, they were for some days in a state of continual apprehension and watchfulness. They came to no actual loggerheads, however, notwithstanding the many excesses the natives indulged in during the course of the

¹ The Diary of the missionary *Padres*, who remained on shore at *Hatutira* during the interval occupied by the Frigate and Storeship in visiting *Raiatea*, follows at a subsequent page (211) in this volume.

revels¹. The *arii* of the District took his meals with our party on most days, and gave them so much of his confidence, that he handed them whatsoever things he had got, or acquired from us, for safe keeping.

One of the missionary *Padres* came on board and told us that, after the Frigate had sailed for *Orayatea*, the native Pautu came to them and threw himself at their feet with a great show of contrition, which, however, endured in him but a very brief while: for, after staying in their company three or four days, he took himself off again as soon as he had got them to trust him with the key of his chest, from which he surreptitiously abstracted the clothes.

Jan. 21st. I ordered Ensign Don Nicolas de Toledo to proceed with the boat, duly armed, to examine the harbour of *Matabay*; where, the Indians stated to us, an English frigate had lain at anchor on three separate occasions². The *arii* Otu, Vehiatua, and Hinoi volunteered to go with him and guide him to the spot where the frigate had moored. The officer made a close and detailed examination of the anchorage, and prepared a plan of it; returning at ten o'clock at night on the following day with the *arii* mentioned, whom I thanked for their good services.

I gave orders to start all the water from the casks in the hold, as it had been found to be of very bad quality: and the work of watering afresh was begun in the course of the day, from a stream that flows down from high on the mountain side and is particularly pure, the men bestirring themselves to the utmost. The carpenters landed to set about repairing the main-topsail yard which had been broken by the whirlwind we met while returning from *Orayatea*.

¹ Cf. the Interpreter's diary (in vol. III), January 15, 16, and 17, where he gives some particulars about this *taupiti* (festival)—or *taurua* as it was called in those days.

² Viz. H.M.S. *Dolphin* in 1767, *Endeavour* in 1769, and *Resolution* (with the *Adventure*) in 1773.

Jan. 22nd and 23rd. The main-topsail yard was brought on board, repaired.

The carpenters went to put some finishing touches to the mission house.

The lower rigging was set up, and all the running gear overhauled.

The launch made several trips with water, wood, and some green food for the live-stock.

The *arii* Potatau¹, who rules over the district of *Atehuru*, came on board with his relatives. He was the only one who had not already been to see the Frigate.

Jan. 24th. We completed our water: and the live-stock that came for that object were assigned to the *arii* and Indians of highest rank, in the name of the King our Lord, whom God preserve.

Jan. 25th. The Indians, observing that our departure was near at hand, brought quantities of all kinds of produce to exchange with our people.

The Comandante, being aware of the gravity of his illness, asked that the missionary *Padres* might come to him; and from this day forward they remained by his pillow, he having already made his will and received the last offices of the Church in the full consciousness that he was about to depart this life.

Jan. 26th. In deference to a memorial submitted by the missionary *Padres* representing that they found themselves under the necessity of cooking, carrying barrels of

¹ This Chief, familiarly known to Capt. Cook and the Forsters as *Potatau*, and also so quoted by Gayangos in his narrative of the launch's voyage round the island in 1772 (see vol. I, p. 322, note 3), was really named *Pohuetea*. His portrait, drawn by Hodges in red crayon, hangs in the Royal Naval Museum at Greenwich Hospital, with Tu's and others. It was engraved by Hall and forms Plate LVI in Bibl. no. 29. See also G. Forster [Bibl. no. 40].

water, and doing other menial offices not proper to their status, and being desirous of sparing them these constraints, I told off Francisco Perez, an ordinary seaman belonging to the crew of this Frigate, to take service with the memorialists, without prejudice to his claim for wages due or to become due: he having a handy knowledge of gardening, looking after stock, and other jobs incidental to the post.

At half-past four in the afternoon God gathered unto himself our Comandante, Don Domingo de Boenechea, attended and succoured in his last extremity by the missionary *Padres*; and at the same hour the ensign and jack were half-masted, while prayers for his soul were said aloud to God, accompanied by the tolling of the ship's bell: the body being forthwith laid out in the cabin with all the solemnity appropriate to his rank and person.

Jan. 27th. At eight o'clock in the morning the missionary *Padres* came, and, together with the ship's chaplains, chanted the *Vigilia* followed by mass, in the presence of the body of the deceased Comandante lying in State in the cabin: at which all the combatant and petty officers attended.

At nine o'clock the corpse was conveyed ashore, escorted by thirty marines with their lieutenant and ensign; and on quitting the side, the Frigate fired a salute of seven guns, corresponding to his rank.

[The funeral party being landed] the missionary *Padres*, carrying their cross and repeating the prayers customary [on such occasions], conducted the corpse, accompanied by all the combatant and petty officers of the Frigate and of the storeship, to the house of the mission settlement, in front of which the interment took place at the foot of the Most Holy Cross erected in token of possession.

An innumerable concourse of Indians gathered on the scene, to witness the interment; and they took it for very

seemly that the body was enclosed in a coffin, and that all the space forming the surface of the grave should be afterwards flagged over with stones.

The interment being concluded, we returned on board, together with the marines; and I issued an order to the storeship to hold herself in readiness to proceed to sea on the morrow at the same time as the Frigate should do so. I warned her captain that, in the event of the vessels becoming separated, he was to proceed on his course for the harbour of El Callao, and under no circumstances put into any Chilean or other port unless he should be obliged by some grave and very urgent contingency to do so: and that, in the contrary event, the freightage he was deriving at His Majesty's expense would cease to accrue to him from and after the date of so putting in.

In the afternoon the launch brought off the last load of fresh water, green stuff, and plantains for sea-stock; so that I was now all ready to proceed to sea on the following day, at any moment the wind might permit.

Jan. 28th. In the morning, early, it was reported to me that two of the ship's ordinary seamen were missing; and as they had answered to the roll-call overnight I concluded that they had slipped away in the water under cover of the darkness. The Caciques who were on board were informed of it, and immediately started in pursuit, assuring me that they would bring them off.

I took over three of the storeship's hands whom her captain charged with insubordination: and I transferred an equal number from my crew in their stead.

An infinite number of Indians wanted to take ship with us for Lima, and tried every means they could by which to gain their wish: even to stowing themselves away in the most out-of-the-way places. This obliged me to order a close search to be instituted, and they were all cleared out

of the ship excepting two of whom I had made choice, the one because he was very well acquainted with all the islands that lie to the eastward, and who was named Puhoro, the second, named Barbarua¹, because he was one of the principal persons of rank in the island *Orayatea*, being uncle by blood to the *arii* Otù, at whose special intercession I took him.

At ten the boat came off with the Caciques and the two seamen, whom they had secured; and, wishing to recompense their services with a couple of shirts, they took it much amiss and would on no account accept them, declaring that what they had done was but their bounden duty.

All the Caciques and most prominent personages among the Indians remained in our company until the moment of getting under way, showing many signs of grief at [the prospect of] our absence, and urging us again and again to come back to them later on.

At half-past eleven the wind set in from E.S.E., fresh, and I proceeded to sea without misadventure. The Indians quitted us in their canoes, with the exception of the two named above, who were very pleased at coming with us.

The storeship *Jupiter* followed in our wake, and when we had gained a good offing outside the reef I gave orders for the launch and the boat to be hoisted in, and proceeded on my course.

Note.

The prevailing winds at this season of the year were from South to East, and now and again from North to North West, hauling round on most nights more off the land.

¹ See note 1 on p. 163. If this was really an uncle by blood (*tio carnal*) of Tu, he must have been a brother of the lady Tetupaia i Ra'iataea, Tu's mother.

High water was observed to occur at full and change of the moon between one o'clock and half-past one in the afternoon; and the greatest rise and fall was half a *braza*¹.

A stock of all the most useful seeds and plants the Realm of Peru produces was left with the natives of the island, as well as implements proper for their cultivation; and several kinds of cattle for breeding purposes.

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from AMAT's Island, performed by Senior Lieutenant Don THOMAS GAYANGOS, commanding the said Frigate, on her return towards the Port of El Callao with the storeship *Jupiter* in company.

I put to sea on the 28th of January, 1775, at a quarter before twelve in the forenoon, with a fresh breeze at E.S.E., and the *Jupiter* in company; and at one in the afternoon, being by that time clear of everything, I had the launch and the yawl hoisted in and we made a number of short boards to work past the South extreme of the island. In this, however, we were not able to succeed (in consequence of light and variable winds, with some squalls) until the 30th, when I stood away on my course towards the S.E. under all sail, with the wind from N.E.

On the 31st, observing the spar our main-topsail yard had been fished with when it was repaired in harbour to be sprung, I ordered the yard to be sent down and the spare

¹ A *braza*, or Spanish fathom, was equal to two *varas* or six feet: Burgos measure. It was therefore some $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches short of an English fathom; and half a *braza* here quoted, being the equivalent of a *vara* of Burgos, measured 32'875 of our inches. Half a *vara* would be more than the actual rise and fall at Tahiti, where the tidal phenomena are of an unusual kind, and the hour of high water remains practically the same every day, owing to the geographical situation.

one to be crossed [in place of it]. I continued on the same course, lying to every night for safety, in case of any unknown island or shoal, until the 4th of February when, the wind having hauled into the E.S.E., I was heading S. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.W.; and at eleven o'clock at night, presuming I had covered the distance within range of sight at the time of sunset, I hove to for the reason already stated, with the main-tack to port, until half-past five in the morning of the 5th, when I filled away and steered to the southward under all sail.

At six o'clock a bo's'n bird was seen, and at eleven an island came into view in the S.W. $\frac{1}{4}$ S. At noon the middle of it bore S. 30° W. by compass, distant six leagues; and the sun was observed at this hour, in lat. $23^{\circ} 30'$ S. At a quarter before five I had the topsails reefed, in order to pass the night making short boards so as to keep to windward of the island and reconnoitre it. At half-past five in the morning of the 6th I found myself abreast of the middle part of it, which then bore W. 28° S. about three leagues distant; and I bore up for it under a press of canvas to get near the northern coast-line. At a quarter to nine we saw a canoe come out from the shore as if making for us, and we hove to on the port tack, under the topsails only, to wait for her. When she had got within something like two musket-shots' distance they stopped paddling and sat still watching the frigate without venturing to come alongside, although our Indians called to them. I ordered the yawl to be lowered and armed, and sent Don Raimundo Bonacorsi away in charge of her to investigate the island, taking the said two Indians with him. He started off at ten o'clock and I followed him, under the topsails, to watch his movements. When the Indians in the canoe saw the boat quit the ship's side they paddled with all their might for the shore; but seeing they were being overtaken they paused with their paddles and spoke

to our ones, without these understanding more than the word *arii*, which in the language of AMAT's Island signifies Cacique: so the boat proceeded on towards the island. At half-past eleven, seeing that she was then getting into close touch with the shore, I wore round and lay to on the port tack in full view of her, about a league distant.

At midday the sun was observed in lat. $23^{\circ} 51' S.$

The boat arrived back alongside at one in the afternoon; and after hoisting her in I proceeded, steering towards the South with a fresh breeze at E.; and the officer sent in charge made me the following report:—

'That he had much ado to get in through a small opening [in the reef], but ultimately succeeded in anchoring at a distance of half a cable's length from the beach opposite a bit of a bay, where about 400 or 500 Indians of all sexes and ages were grouped, shouting and hullaballooing, without venturing to approach the boat, until one of them more bold than the rest threw himself into the water, and on coming within a moderate distance burst out with the word *Tamay!* which in the language of those of AMAT's Island means 'fight.' Our two Indians replied in their own tongue, and with signs of friendliness, that our intentions were peaceful; he then came right up to the boat, and having managed to clamber into her—and finding that he was well received—he set to a-dancing and cutting capers and yelling with delight, at the sight of which so many of them took to the water and swam out to the boat in the hope of getting on board of her that our people saw themselves obliged to repel them with feints and blows. But finding this treatment failed to instil any fear into them, and that they did not desist in their efforts, they hove up the grapnel and lay off under oars some distance farther out to make it more difficult for the Indians to reach them. They are so daring, and such thieves, that they collared the coxswain of the boat and likewise the Master's ap-

prentice cheek by jowl and snatched the caps off their heads, diving hurriedly into the sea and making off with their booty to shore, where they skipped about with delight at their exploit. Others grabbed the oars and strove to carry them off: in short, they had no other aim but to rob and make off with any of the many objects, so strange and unwonted in their sight, that met their eyes. Our people got a string of mother-of-pearl shells from them, such as they are accustomed to wear round the neck, a paddle, and a spear made of very good wood which looks as if turned in a lathe¹, for the gift of which they made

¹ The natives of the Austral Islands—of which (if we consider *Rupa* as separate from that group) *Raiivuræ* is the easternmost—used to be noted for the regularity, neatness and finish, with which they made their weapons, as well as for the workmanship bestowed on their canoes, and the excellence and artistic patterns of their cloth. "Fine hatchets come from thence to *Raiivuræ*," said Tupaia [Bibl. no. 41, p. 522]. Lieut. Cook, writing of *Rurutu*, which Tupaia named to him as *O Hitiroa* [Bibl. no. 30, pp. 119–121], declared that "their Arms, and in general everything they had about them, were much neater made, and show'd great proofs of an ingenious fancy" in comparison with similar objects he had been accustomed to see at Tahiti.

Banks added his testimony to the same general effect, but in more particular terms, and described the "parti-coloured fringes depending from the gunwales" of their canoes, mentioned by Gayangos at p. 179, as "two lines of small white feathers placed on the outside of the canoe" [Bibl. no. 10, pp. 124–6].

Raiivuræ and *Rurutu* are a little more than 200 miles apart; but *Tubuae*, lying about midway between them W.N.W. and E.S.E., no doubt facilitated communication (for good or ill) according to the season and the winds. This last-named island was discovered by Capt. Cook in the *Resolution* in 1777; and he wrote of the canoes there that they "appeared to be about thirty feet long, and two feet above the surface of the water as they floated. The fore part projected a little, and had a notch cut across, as if intended to represent the mouth of some animal. The after part rose with a gentle curve to the height of two or three feet, turning gradually smaller, and, as well as the upper part of the sides, was carved all over. The rest of the sides, which were perpendicular, were curiously incrusted with flat white shells, disposed nearly in semicircles, with the curve upward. One of the canoes carried seven, and the other eight men; and they were managed with small paddles whose blades were nearly round. Each of them had a pretty long outrigger" [Bibl. no. 28, vol. II, p. 7].

Tubuae was visited in 1817 by Ellis, the missionary, who described the canoes he saw then as "generally sixteen or twenty feet long," their sterns "being considerably elevated" and "ornamented with rude carving, and, together with the sides, painted with a kind of red

return with some small knives and some nails, whose use and application these natives were ignorant of. Our Indians talked all the time with a very composed old man, of whom they asked various questions at the instance of the officer, in pursuance of the duty committed to him ; and although they were unable to follow his meaning in a long speech, they understood from several loose words that they had never seen any other ship, and that there was no other land known to them anywhere near at hand : that the island was called 'Oraibaba' : and the *arii* who rules over it is Tarabaroai. They asked what we called our country, and when we told them 'España' they all repeated its name with much shouting.

'The officer in charge then seeing, from what our Indians told him, that to learn more about those natives would be

ochre, while the seams were covered with the feathers of aquatic birds" [Bibl. no. 36, vol. I, pp. 53-4].

Elsewhere it is recorded that the Austral islanders used to fix a gaily coloured and figured strip of cloth to their canoes, in the nature of a valence or flounce hung outside the gunwales ; but my note of the reference from which this statement is quoted has been mislaid.

It will be seen in Andía y Varela's journal (*postea*) that he writes of the canoes as "painted along the gunwales" and built of *toa* (i.e. *casuarina* or iron-wood). More probably it was *tamanu*, especially as he compares its appearance with mahogany ; but the evidence of a superior type of workmanship, carving, and ornamentation having been observed by early visitors to the Austral Islands cannot be questioned, and suggests a closer or more recent kinship between their natives and the Maoris of New Zealand than is manifested by the Tahitians. This idea is controverted, however, by the absence of tattooing among the eastern Australs, and perhaps, too, by the existence at *Ra'ivavae* and *Tubuai* of grim effigies of the human figure, both small and large though not colossal, carved in stone in the same fashion as those at Easter Island, the rough and boorish behaviour of whose natives towards early explorers corresponded with the Spaniards' reception at *Ra'ivavae*, and was in contrast to the milder manners of the Tahitians. The reader is further referred to Moerenhout's remarks on his visit to this island and *Tubuai* in 1834 [Bibl. no. 73, vol. I, p. 140 and vol. II, p. 333 &c.].

¹ O *Ra'ivavae* is written *Oraibaba* by Andía in his journal (q.v.) and he gives the name of its *arii* as *Toraberobari*, and *Teraberobari* in different copies. Possibly *Teraverave arii* is what the natives said; more likely, following Gayangos' spelling, *Teraveroa arii*. One reading has *Jarabaroai*, which is doubtless the work of a wicked scribe.

no easy task, inasmuch as they could only understand a word here and there, and that in spite of his having lain off farther from the beach the numbers of those who came off in no wise diminished, all bent on climbing into the boat with determination and audacity, he decided to retire to the frigate. For although he considered that their hardihood proceeded rather from curiosity, and eagerness to possess our things, than from any really evil intent, the necessity to use our arms as a last resource for avoiding a disturbance was becoming more and more pressing ; and, since it was not his desire to do them any violence, he took it his best course was to get away altogether.'

The island referred to lies in lat. $23^{\circ} 55'$ S. and in long. $234^{\circ} 5'$ ¹. It is hilly, but not very rugged, well timbered, and surrounded by a reef within which is a broad lagoon. Its verdure and reddish-coloured soil make it appear very fertile, to the view : *enru*, plantains, and other fruit-bearing trees could be distinguished. Its natives are somewhat fairer skinned than those of AMAT'S, and there are some amongst them who look like Europeans in hue. They wear the beard long, the hair short and tied into a knot on the upper part of the head so as to form a tuft, and they have large perforations in their ears. They clothe themselves with wraps like those of AMAT'S. No village nor even a single house was seen along all the northern shore, nor more than five or six canoes ; these were twin-hulled and better constructed of better wood than those of AMAT'S Island, and were ornamented with parti-coloured fringes depending from the gunwales. There was nothing to indicate that they make use of sails. This island appears to be thickly peopled.

From AMAT'S it bears S.S.E. $6^{\circ} 30'$ E. distant 135 leagues²:

¹ This latitude is correct : the longitude quoted is a clear 5° too easterly, as usual.

² The bearing and distance quoted are inaccurate.

its configuration and extent will be seen on the plan, with the name of *Santa Rosa*¹.

At half-past six I took two reefs in the fore- and main-topsails, and furled the mizen one, continuing on

¹ Gayangos and Andía have not hitherto received the public credit which is their due for this discovery. Where it is mentioned in print at all it is vaguely attributed to "the Spaniards"—except in three instances I have met with, viz. Bratring, Moerenhout and Meinicke [Bibl. nos. 20, 73 and 67]. Some writers have confused it with an alleged earlier discovery said to have been made some 14° farther South, by the master of a Spanish brig bound from El Callao to Chiloé, in the year 1714, which M. Pingré says was recorded in a printed pamphlet by a shipmaster of Saint-Malo, one Bénard de la Harpe, who heard of it from Capt. Marion Du Fresne of the *Français* of Saint-Malo who had read the Spaniard's journal at La Concepcion [Bibl. no. 118, p. 70]. But this must have been an imaginary discovery, since no land lies near the latitude named (38°) anywhere between the Chilean coast and New Zealand. Nevertheless it was placed on the charts (between the long. 108° and 109° W. of Paris) and, so long afterwards as 1785, La Pérouse was instructed to search for land or islands in that position [Bibl. no. 112, vol. I, pp. 88–90]. The same explorer was also enjoined to verify or disprove this discovery of *Ra'ivavae*—"Iles qu'on dit avoir été vues par les Espagnols, en 1773, par 32 degrés de latitude Sud, et 130 degrés à l'Ouest de Paris," as reported by Captain Croizet from information derived through one of M. de Surville's officers who had been detained at Lima [*loc. cit.* pp. 91–93]. Capt. Cook also had the same defective report from Capt. Croizet [Bibl. no. 29, vol. I, p. 274 and II, pp. 267–8] and it looks rather as if all these officers and the Comte de Fleurieu had been led into a misconception by the transposition of the figures 23°, indicating the latitude of *Ra'ivavae*, by which they became 32°, and thus gave rise to much vain speculation and waste of argument. The whole question of the reputed earlier discovery in lat. 38° is shrouded in mystery, and recalls the still earlier one attributed to Juan Fernández by Dr Arias. Nevertheless, if we may believe 38° to have originally been a misprint for 28° both the lat. and the long. would point to Easter Island.

Ra'ivavae was sighted on Oct. 23, 1791, by Lieut. W. R. Broughton commanding H.M. armed tender *Chatham*, while on his way from New Zealand to rejoin company with the *Discovery*, under Capt. Vancouver, at Tahiti. Not being sure of his position Lieut. Broughton assigned no name to the island (which was then practically unknown to the world), believing that it might prove to have been *Iubuai* that he saw, already visited by Cook in 1777; but he reported the circumstance to his commodore, and the fact is recorded in Vancouver's narrative [Bibl. no. 121, vol. I, p. 94]. Admiral Krusenstern, in his *Mémoires* [Bibl. no. 58 (a), Part I, p. 28] names Broughton as the original discoverer of *Ra'ivavae*—or *Vavito*, as he calls it—and this statement, copied by Findlay [Bibl. no. 39 (a), vol. II], has been adopted in the Admiralty Sailing Directions [Bibl. no. 1 bis, p. 31] down to the present time. The journals of Lieut. Gayangos and Andía now brought to light put back its discovery sixteen and three quarter years and quote the island by its true name.

my course until nine o'clock at night, when I hove to with the fore- and mizen-tacks to port: at five in the morning I filled on my course S. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.E.

At eleven o'clock I signalled the storeship to come within hail, and when she ranged up I gave her captain the order to issue full rations to his crew from the following day, as the wind was favouring us and I reckoned he had provisions enough for the voyage.

From this day we began sailing through the night-time, observing all the precautions necessary in unknown seas. The variation was found to be 11° N.E.

The 16th.—I hailed the storeship and directed her captain to come on board of me that I might take him to task in regard to certain slackness I had noticed on his part as to making all the sail possible to keep up with the frigate, in consequence of which the voyage was being tangibly prolonged; and, after warning him that he must pay every attention and take more care to watch the movements and signals of the Frigate, he returned to his vessel¹.

On the 23rd, the wind being fresh from the eastward, with much swell, I ordered the topgallant yards to be sent down, and made a signal to the storeship to keep in close company. At half-past six in the evening, when she was at her usual distance, a third reef was taken in the main-topsail and I held on under that and the two courses until 9 o'clock at night, when we handed the topsail, as the gusts were very strong. The storeship was still at her usual distance when day broke, being a little to leeward: the wind blew fresh from E., and harder in the gusts; and the sky

¹ See the Introduction, vol. I, p. xlvi, on the relations between Gayangos and Andía. It is a fact that the storeship parted company from the frigate both on the outward and on the homeward voyage; but there is no evidence that this was intentionally done, and there were weighty reasons well known to Andía why they should have kept together. Cf. his journal, of even date.

was overcast, with heavy rain-squalls looming round. On this account I kept under short canvas as before ; but the storeship, being to leeward, set her main-topsail about two o'clock in the afternoon and had resumed her station astern of us by nightfall, when I ordered the stern-lantern to be lit and had it kept burning all night to assist her in keeping company.

The 24th.—Morning dawned cloudy with the wind fresh, from the E. ; and the storeship was nowhere to be seen. As there was still no appearance of her at 8 o'clock in the morning, and believing that if she had carried on all night with her main-topsail as we saw her at nightfall she ought now to have the weather gauge of us and be somewhat ahead as well, I loosed the topsails with three reefs in them, but only hoisted the main one, as that was all that the wind would allow. At noon I ordered a good look-out to be kept from the tops, but nothing could be seen of the storeship. I got no observation ; my reckoning placed me in lat. $42^{\circ} 8' S.$ and long. $235^{\circ} 23' [29' ?]$.

On the 26th, at a quarter to five in the afternoon, we saw a large seal : the wind being then fresh, from the N.E., weather thick, overcast and cloudy, with little sea, and the ship heading towards the S.E. under fore- and main-courses and topsails. At five o'clock I ordered two reefs to be taken in the fore- and main-topsails, and the mizen-topsail to be handed ; and as the colour of the water appeared to me somewhat less intense I called for a cast of the lead. Finding, however, no bottom with a hundred and ten fathoms' line, the whole topsails were hoisted up and let draw. But knowing from trustworthy experience that seals never stray far from land, or banks¹, and having

¹ Instances of antarctic seals or their congeners wandering far from land are not wanting ; and on the American side their habitat extends northward even to the Galápagos Islands on the equator. The *Aquila*'s position at this time was, however, in mid-ocean ; *Rapa* (in lat. $27^{\circ} 36'$, long. $144^{\circ} 17' W.$) with the neighbouring Bass Rocks being

seen a number of white-breasted birds with ashen-coloured backs the previous day, I felt no doubt but that we were in the neighbourhood of some island, and I decided to pass the night making short tacks in order to secure myself against any dangerous landfall.

the nearest land to her, and the Chatham Islands the next nearest. During her subsequent voyage, under Lieut. de Lángara, another seal was seen, this time in lat. $43^{\circ} 21'$ S. and 340 leagues from Chiloé—being about the same distance from the isles of Juan Fernandez. Many were seen from H.M.S. *Resolution* during her passage from New Zealand to Easter Island in 1774 (*teste* Cook and Forster) but always within the common limit of drift ice. The average limit of drift ice in this longitude is laid down on modern maps at lat. 51° or 52° ; but the extreme limit coincides with the parallels quoted by Gayangos and Lángara where they saw the seals, some five hundred miles farther North.

A credible European witness whom I met at Tahiti had resided for some time at *Tubuai* (which lies just on the tropic of Capricorn), and told me that a seal had been captured and eaten there. Another mentioned a seal having been caught at *Porapora*— 1° North of Tahiti. Either seals or dugongs are known to the natives of the Fijian Islands, especially at *Natewa Bay* in *Vanua Levu* and at *Gau*. A highly observant and intellectual native of the latter, whom I knew intimately for twenty years and have every reason to trust, made a capital pencil sketch of one such from memory, in my presence. The head, large peering eyes, and whiskers, were very life-like, both as to form and expression; the mammae were pectoral and the fore flippers resembled those of *otaria*; but I cannot remember whether the caudal extremities followed those of this animal or of a dugong. The hide was spotted, rather than blotched. An account of a pinniped or siren visiting another island in the Viti Group was communicated some years ago by a native and printed in *Na Mata*. I made a translation of it which I sent to the late Sir William Flower; and he gave his opinion that it was probably a dugong, because—as the story went—it fed upon some fallen ripe fruit of a *Carica papaya* that happened to be growing close to the part of the beach where it landed. Unfortunately I was never able to secure any teeth or bones of one of these visitors, whom the Fijians are sufficiently familiar with to have a recognised name for, and, like the Dutch, aptly term 'sea-dogs' (*Koli ni wai*). But the fact that instances of their being seen are particularised in the natives' memory, and legendary lore, indicates that they are not of very frequent occurrence; and I do not doubt that the animals seen in Fiji, as well as in the Society and even Austral Isles, whether seals or dugongs, are merely waifs and strays from their normal habitat and must have traversed a vast expanse of ocean before reaching there: if this can happen once it can happen twice, or oftener. It is otherwise with those of the Galápagos Islands, for although these lie right on the equator they are only five hundred miles distant from the American continent, towards which there are islands named *islas de lobos*, or Seal Islands.

Next day, the 27th, at sunrise, the wind being from N.N.E., I resumed my course under all the sail I could carry, steering E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.E. until noon on the 1st of March, when, the wind favouring me from the fourth quadrant, I began to diminish my latitude and followed an E.N.E. course, until the 11th. I then met with light airs from E. to S.E., but on the 12th a moderate breeze sprang up between N.W. and S.W. and we continued on the same course until the 20th of the month, when it was altered to N.E. $\frac{1}{4}$ N., and again, at four in the afternoon, to N.N.E., as the wind then hauled round more to the S. At a quarter past six we furled the topgallantsails and took in the fore- and main-stu'n'sails, and proceeded with all caution, to keep clear of the islands of Juan Fernandez. We cracked on again at five in the morning, and observed $10^{\circ} 30'$ variation N.E.^{ly} as the sun rose. At this time I set the course N.E. $\frac{1}{4}$ N. in the hope of falling in with the gulf-weed or sea-wrack¹ from the coast, for, up to the present, we had met with no signs of being near to those islands except having experienced a few squalls.

On the 23rd I was sailing N.E., which was as close as the light wind from N.N.W. would allow, when we saw numerous eddies and ripples, and the colour of the water betokened shallows.

On the 27th, at seven in the morning, we began to see the gulf-weed, and from that time I steered N. $\frac{1}{4}$ N.W. to make the coast about *La Nasca*²: at noon I found my

¹ *Sargazo ó cochallullo*. Gayangos was probably thinking of the detached masses of *Macrocystis pirifera* (Turn.) with other kelp-weeds and sea-grasses commonly met with near the South American coast, in the region the *Agríla* was now entering. *Cochayuyo*, as it should be spelt, is a Quéchuan expression employed by Chileños and Peruvian seamen; and is compounded of *cocha*, the sea, and *yuyo*, herbage—especially kale [Bibl. nos. 2 bis and 9]. The *sargazo* or true gulf-weed is a different plant, confined to the northern Atlantic.

² *Pta Nasca* is a promontory on the coast of Peru in lat. $14^{\circ} 57'$ S., rising abruptly to a height of 1020 ft. It therefore forms a good landmark for vessels making for El Callao from the South.

latitude to be $27^{\circ} 45'$ S. and continued on with light winds from the 2nd quadrant.

At daybreak on the 4th of April the water had paled in colour, as if over a bank; and next morning some patches of weed and some turtles were seen. From six o'clock I steered N. $\frac{1}{4}$ N.E. until noon, when having got an observation of the sun in lat. $14^{\circ} 39'$ S. I altered the course to N.E., in the hope of sighting land before dark. Some turtles, grey plover, and sand-pipers from the land were seen during the afternoon; and the colour of the water changed to a thorough 'longshore tint. We took in all the light sails at dusk; and, as the night proved a very clear one, stood on under the fore- and main-topsails and courses, observing every caution and keeping a good look-out. At eight o'clock *La Lechuza*¹ was sighted bearing N. about four leagues away, and I therefore bore up N.W. $\frac{1}{4}$ N. and made all sail again. At nine o'clock I sighted the Isle of *San Gallan*¹ right ahead about three leagues distant, or three and a half perhaps, and gave the order to steer N.W. $\frac{1}{4}$ W. At half-past ten the island bore due E., distant two to two and a half leagues, and I laid her head to the N.W. $\frac{1}{4}$ N. until four in the morning of the 6th, when I reckoned I was still a fair distance off the coast and I let her come up a point or two to N.N.W.

On the 7th, at daybreak, I was five leagues off; and at a quarter to eleven, the wind having died down to a calm, I dropped a kedge in 47 fathoms, dark grey ooze, and the *Palominos*² were noted to bear N.W. 3° N., with El Callao island bearing N.N.W. distant from two to two and a half leagues. At noon I observed the sun in lat. $12^{\circ} 25'$: at

¹ *Pta Lechuza* is the cape off which the isle of *San Gallan* lies, about 110 miles South of El Callao, in lat. $13^{\circ} 50'$.

² The *Palominos* are a group of rocks a little to seaward of *San Lorenzo* island, outside El Callao roadstead.

a quarter past three in the afternoon I made sail with light southerly airs: and at sunset I was two and a half leagues from the North West extremity of the Island of *San Lorenzo*, which then bore N. $\frac{1}{4}$ N.W. At half-past seven the same evening the wind hauled into the S.E. from over the top of the island, and after I had made a few boards to work up towards the roadstead the wind left me, at one o'clock in the night, entirely becalmed, and I let go a kedge again in 16 fathoms.

On board the *Aguila*, riding to a kedge in the harbour of El Callao: the 8th of April, 1775¹.

Thomas Gayangos Jr

¹ The two memoranda which follow—"Information obtained" about other islands, and "Information regarding the English Frigate" occur in Gayangos' MS. as parts of, or addenda to, his Journal. They are therefore here printed with it.

In the list of islands the real names of those with which they are identified have been added, within square brackets [], for the reader's convenience; a comparison between these and the names enumerated by J. R. Forster [Bibl. no. 41, pp. 513-24] from Tupaia's reports to Capt. Cook, Banks and Pickersgill, may be usefully made.

INFORMATION OBTAINED

from the most trustworthy Indians of eminence in the Island of AMAT, checked by others of similar degree who, on our having put the same questions to them, were found confirmatory in everything.

Accounts of Islands to the eastward of AMAT¹.

Joaau [Toau].—Small and low, with a lagoon and reef, coco-nuts and yams plentiful: there are some pearls. Canoes from Tahiti occupy nine days in reaching them.

¹ The islands here enumerated comprise the most considerable of the north-western atolls of the Tuamotu or Low Archipelago. *Makatea*, which is the nearest of them to Tahiti (120 miles) and stands somewhat apart from its neighbours, is the only one which rises more than 25 feet above the sea-level (excepting *Oeno* at the far S.E. end of the chain). It attains a height of 230 ft., being flattish on the top, but for one small knoll, and slopes downwards from N. to S.

Toau, Apataki, Kaukura and *Arutu'a*, all named to the Spaniards by the natives, form the cluster called by Cook the "Palliser Islands," in 1774; and probably include the same that Roggeveen sighted in 1722 and named *Avonstondt, Meerdere Zorg, and Goede Verwachting*, though it is possible this last was *Rairoa*. His description of the next he fell in with, taken with its latitude, identifies it with *Makatea*—"dat tamelyk hoog, maer vlak sonder gebergte was": with a shore-reef of sharp white coral, but no lagoon, in lat. 15° 43'. He named it *van Verkwikking* (refreshment or revival), because he obtained some purslain and scurvy-grass there [Bibl. no. 90, pp. 164-70]. See also Agassiz [Bibl. no. 2, pp. 56-64 of text] for a concise account of its physiography, and Wilkes [Bibl. no. 122, vol. I, pp. 337-41] for a more general one with a steel engraving of the island in profile. It is now worked by an Anglo-French company for its phosphatic deposits.

O Rairoa is the *Fliegen Eyland* of Schouten, discovered by him in 1616 [Bibl. no. 119, p. 24]. Communication between it and Tahiti was maintained before Europeans visited these seas, the canoes often using *Makatea* as a port of call. It was reputed rich in pearls and dogs' hair; but some of the fish in its lagoon were apt to be poisonous. It, too, was visited by Wilkes in 1839.

Guaraba of the Spaniards is *Fa'arava*, locally *Fakarava*. It was accounted populous and rich by the Tahitians, and enshrines the ancestral hearth of their ruling Chiefs, Tu and the Pomares [Bibl. no. 8]. It is now the seat of the French Government in the Tuamotu Group. Its lagoon is more than thirty miles long and averages twelve in width, being exceeded in area only by *Rairoa*, though *Makemo* (which is much less broad) is some 42 miles in length. Agassiz described *Fakarava* very fully [Bibl. no. 2].

Opatay [*Alpataki*].—Small and low, with a reef. Inhabited. Some pearls; and canoes take one day from Joaau.

Tabau [*Niau* or *Kanehi?*].—Small and flat, with a reef. Inhabited. Barren of produce, but fish and pearls in plenty. Canoes belonging to Joaau resort to it for the fishery, and occupy one day in reaching it.

Tayaruro [*Taiaro*].—Small and flat, with reefs. *Idem* in everything as the last.

Auroa [*Au'ura*, i.e. *Kaukura*].—Large, but smaller than AMAT's. It is low, but abounds in coco-nuts, yams, dogs with good coats, and pearls. It has many reefs, and is thickly peopled. Canoes occupy one day in reaching it from Taiararu.

Oarutua [*o Arutu'a*].—Very small, and flat with reefs. Abounds in fish and pearls. Its inhabitants are extremely few in number: and it lies near the last one.

Tapuhoe¹ [*o Anaa*].—Is the one we call *Todos Santos* and explored, in the belief that it was *Matea*. Coco-nuts and yams are plentiful, and it has some pearls. The Tahitians say that its inhabitants are a bad lot of people.

¹ *Tapuhoe* appears to be the ancient name of *Anaa*, or of some part of it: cf. p. 117 and note. It is quoted by Capt. Cook [Bibl. no. 28, vol. II, p. 176] and at least one other writer among his shipmates. A half-caste Tahitian skipper of whom I enquired about it instantly recognised the name, but was not sure to what island it belonged.

If *Tapuhoe* is the same as *Anaa* the island named to Gayangos as *Oandà* remains in doubt, and may be a repetition; but the others cited to the eastward, with the exception of *Tabau*, can be definitely identified without difficulty. See also Boenecchea's list in vol. I, at p. 306.

It is pretty obvious to persons who know the islands and the natives, that some of these descriptions were not supplied by eyewitnesses; and it further appears as if some of the particulars given had been (unintentionally) suggested by leading questions put by the enquirer. Thus *Auroa* (*Kaukura*) possesses no features to justify a comparison with Tahiti; nor is *Makemo* "small" when compared with the rest, being in fact the longest of all except *Rairoa* and better supplied with dry land than most. *Makatea*, again, is described as "high like *Morea*," whereas, although it is decidedly high in contrast to the Tuamotu atolls, *Mo'orea* is no less than seventeen times higher than it. One may presume, too, that in some cases the natives may have had in mind as "islands" only the islets of dry land on the various atolls—and considered the submerged portions as mere reefs.

Guaraba [*Fakarava*].—Of the size of *Tapuhoc*, and identical in all respects. Canoes take two days from *Tapuhoe*.

Maemo [*Makemo*].—Small and low; coco-nuts, yams, dogs, fish of all kinds, and pearls are plentiful. It is surrounded by a reef: its inhabitants are of a mild disposition. From *Guaraba* to *Macmo* canoes take three days.

Maropua [*Marutea?*].—Small, low, with reefs. Coco-nuts, yams, dogs, and fish are plentiful. Its people are bad. From *Maemo* to *Maropua* takes two days.

Oanà [?].—Small, and low, with reefs. Coco-nuts, yams, dogs, fish are plentiful, with a few pearls. It is inhabited; and from the last named canoes occupy two days¹.

Orairoa [*o Ra'irosa*].—Large and low, with reefs. Has three bays for small vessels but bad bottom. Coco-nuts, yams, dogs, fish and pearls are plentiful; and its people are very tractable.

Otiehao [*o Tikehau*].—Small, flat, and with reefs. It has coco-nuts, yams, dogs, and much fish. Its inhabitants are a good people and make excellent mats. It lies within sight of the last named.

Mataiba [*Matahiva*].—Small and low, with reefs. There are fowls, dogs, yams, much fish, and some pearls. Its people are good; and it lies within sight of the last named.

Matea [*Makatea*].—High, like *Morea*: surrounded by a reef. *Urus*, coco-nuts, plantains, fish, and good pearls are plentiful. Their canoes occupy two days to reach *Maitu*. The storeship *Jupiter* sighted it, which happened in lat. 17°, in a direction N.E. 8° N. from *Maitu*².

¹ J. R. Forster associates “*O-anna*” as quoted by Tupaia with Roggeveen’s “Pernicious” (*Schadelijk*) Island [Bibl. no. 41, pp. 517–8]: but in this I cannot concur, without better evidence.

² This could not really have been, for by his own showing Andia was never within ninety miles of *Mukatea* (*cf.* his journal, 5th and 6th of November). It has a shore-reef but no barrier; and its true bearing from *Mehetia* (*Maitu*) is N. 5° W.

Note.

The Chiefs of Tahiti state that all these [foregoing] islands are tributary to them; and that none excepting *Matea* has any water upon it, the inhabitants of them making use of *cazimbasi*¹ to supply themselves from. The Indian named Pujoro, whom we have on board, is well acquainted with all of them, and says he has cruised among them several times in quest of pearls.

Islands to the westward of AMAT'S².

Teturoa [*Tetiaroa*].—Small and low, with reefs, plenty of coco-nuts, pigs, pearls and fish. It has many pearls but of bad quality. It belongs to the *arii* Otu, and lies within sight of the northernmost part of AMAT's. It was seen by us.

¹ A South American term of Quichuan origin meaning a water-hole or well dug near the beach, in which usable though somewhat brackish water collects.

² The identification of the islands whose names here follow is perfectly plain (excepting the case of *Manua*) as far as to and including *Oaiyu* (*i.e.* Atiu, the chief one of the Hervey Islands of Cook). The descriptive notes given are, on the whole, true and characteristic; but some of the names beyond *Oaiyu* are unrecognisable, and there is a mystery about this *Manua*. It was mentioned to Cook and Banks, and also to Forster [Bibl. no. 41, p. 513], being described by Tupaia and others as lying "N.E. of O-Hitte-roa," *i.e.* *Rurutu*, where no land exists. It was said to be inhabited by ogres—"ferocious inhabitants with wild and furious looks, and eating men"—and to possess few canoes [Bibl. no. 41, p. 515]; and there is reason to think it has been confused with, or is the same as, *Tupuae Manu*, where cannibalism was formerly reputed to be practised, and whirlwinds were of frequent occurrence. Both Gayangos and Andia make mention of *Manua*, which they state was seen from their vessels while on the passage back from *Ka'iatea* to Tahiti: Andia quotes it as '*Emanu*' however, and it is significant that the name bestowed upon it by Boenechea was *la Isla de Pajaros*, which is *Manu* translated, *i.e.* Isle of 'Birds.' The position they assigned to it was only 22 miles S. and 15 miles W. of where they placed *Tupuae Manu*, which they say they saw at the same time. The latter has two summits, and, when viewed from afar on certain bearings, they may easily be mistaken for separate islands. Cf. note 4 on pp. 166-7. Wallis, who discovered *Tupuae Manu* in 1767 and sketched it, tells of no other land in sight at the time, nor is there any in fact; and *Tupuae's* other name—*Mai'ao iti*—is not susceptible of confusion (in sound) with such a word as *Manua*.

Tupuaemanu [*Tupuae Manu*].—Small and low, with reefs. Coco-nuts, plantains, *e uru*, dogs, pigs, and fowls are plentiful, and so is good water. Its inhabitants are very tractable: its *arii* is named Oahau. Seen by us.

There is an island called *Manuai* in the Hervey cluster, quite near to *Atiu*; but the only *Manua* that has come to my knowledge lies much farther West, in the Samoan Group, and is accounted the place from which the Makea family of ruling Chiefs at Rarotonga originally emigrated.

Of the names which follow after *Atiu*, *Rarotoa* is of course Rarotonga; and *Ponamu*—the Maori name of the middle (now styled South) island of New Zealand certainly points to that country, of whose communications with Tahiti in remote ages there is anthropological as well as traditional evidence. *Teonetapu* is obviously meant for Tongatabu; and *Oaitahu* is without question *Vaitahu*, a village in Resolution Bay of Cook (= *Madre de Dios* bay of Mendaña and Quiros) in the island these latter called *Santa Cristina*, but whose proper name is *Tauatu* and which was in ancient times the landing-place usually sought by canoes arriving in the Marquesas Group from Tahiti and *Raiatea* or *Fakarava*.

The identification of *Genua teatea* is less easy; but I consider it most likely to indicate some part of New Zealand. *Genua teatea* means “white land”—*G* before *e* in Spanish orthography is an aspirate; and *Henua* (or *Fenua* in some dialects) means ‘land’ throughout Polynesia. G. Forster tells us that when *Mahine*, the Tahitian youth who went in the *Resolution* in 1773, first saw an ice-field, with bergs, in the high latitudes after leaving New Zealand, he called it *Whennua teatea*, as Forster spells it [Bibl. no. 40, vol. I, p. 530]; and it seems natural to believe that in describing the snow-covered mountains he had seen in New Zealand—but never anywhere else—Mahine applied the same term to those tracts, when relating the wonders of his voyage to his fellow-countrymen after his return to Tahiti. (Cf. *Aotea*.)

This idea suggests that some others of the more remote islands cited by the Tahitians to the Spaniards at this time had come to their knowledge only a few months before, from the stories discoursed by this same *Mahine*, otherwise *Hitihiti* (*Oedidee* of Cook, and *Ohiti* of Gayangos) who was a native of *Porapora* and landed from the *Resolution* at Tahiti on April 22nd, 1774 [*op. cit.* vol. II, pp. 51-2]. In fact Forster specifically relates how, when at *Raiatea* in June of the same year, O Rea, an *arii* of that island, “conversed chiefly of the countries we had lately visited, and of which he had received an account from his countryman *Mahine*.” O Rea then proceeded, after dining with Captain Cook and drinking “about a bottle of wine, without appearing in the least intoxicated,” to tell the company of an island which he declared they had not met with in their voyages, though “it lies,” said he, “but a few days’ sail from hence. It is inhabited by a race of giants as tall as the mainmast, and as thick about the middle as the drum-head of the capstan.” He added a number of ludicrous remarks about the proclivities of these giants, and became “as usual, extremely facetious,” observes Forster; but finally, “to give greater weight to his assertion,” their jocund guest supplied them with the name of this wonderful island, which he said

Manua [?].—Larger than *Morea*. Coco-nuts, plantains, and *uru* are plentiful. There is a reef within which is a capacious roadstead with good bottom. It is not inhabited because, they say, it is subject to whirlwinds which swamp canoes. It was sighted by us.

Oahine [*Huahine*].—Like *Morea*. Plenty of *uru*, plantains, coco-nuts, pearls, pigs, and fowls: is thickly peopled, and possesses two bays very good for large ships, with a river in one of them. Its inhabitants are very well disposed and own very good canoes. They say that an English ship lay ten days at anchor in one of the bays, and from what we could make out it was the most northern one, where there is an islet at its entrance; but both of them are on the West side of the island. Its *arii* is named *Tahuaoaha*, and is tributary to the *arii* *Opuni*, who rules in *Orayatea*. It was sighted by us.

Oriatea and *Taha* [*o Ra'iatea* and *Tahuu*].—These two islands are united by a small reef, having half a *vara* of water over it where deepest. There is a good bay on the western side, of horse-shoe shape, formed by reefs within which an English frigate anchored on three separate occasions. Both islands are equally productive of *uru*, coco-nuts, plantains, pigs, fowls and good water. The inhabitants are well disposed and in all respects similar to those of *AMAT'S*, with whom they keep up a close inter-communication. The *arii* is named *Opuni*. It was examined by us on the 9th of January '75: its configuration and extent will be seen on the plan, and likewise that of the harbour.

was *Miromiro* [*op. cit.* p. 139]. Now *Temiromiro* is included in Gayangos' list, though only birds—not giants—are mentioned as its occupants. Can this be the mythic *Manua* again?

But one must not forget—as against the Mahine theory—that Tupaia gave information to Lieut. Pickersgill, then Master's mate of the *Endeavour*, in 1769, from which they jointly constructed a chart of the central Pacific on which the names and reputed approximate positions of more than eighty islands were laid down; and that Tupaia's knowledge included such outliers as Savaii, Upolu, Tutuila, Uea, Rotuma, Vavau, Niue, besides many members of the Marquesas, Tuamotu, Austral, central Pacific groups, and likewise Fiji (*O Hiti*, *Te atu Hiti*). The chart in question is preserved in the British Museum and a counterpart of it (not an exact copy) was engraved for Forster's *Observations*, where it appears at p. 513 [Bibl. no. 41].

Porapora [*Porapora*].—Small and elevated, surrounded by reefs, with a passage on the S. side through which they say a large ship can enter. *Uru*, coco-nuts, plantains, dogs, pigs, are in plenty; and there are a few pearls. It is well populated and belongs to the *arii* of *Oraiatea*. It was sighted by us.

Maurua [*Maurua*, called also *Maupiti*].—Low, with three high hills on it, surrounded by a reef, and produces coco-nuts, *uru*, plantains, pigs, dogs, and a few pearls. It has fresh water, and is inhabited. Belongs to the *arii* of *Oraiatea*, lies to the westward of Porapora, and was sighted by us.

Mopihà [*Mopihaa*].—Of middling size and low, with a reef. Produces coco-nuts and pearls, but is not inhabited. They say there are birds of large size there in great plenty, which do not fly¹; and they visit the island to catch them for eating, as they are very fine-flavoured. Canoes from *Maurua* take two days to reach it.

Genuaora [*Fenua ura*].—Of middling size, flat, and with a reef. Has coco-nuts and the same abundance of birds as at the last named. Uninhabited.

Orimatara [*o Rimatara*].—Inhabited, and abounds in coco-nuts, plantains, and pigs.

Oaiyu [*o Atiu*].—Like the last in all respects.

Oahuahu [*Oahu?*].—Idem.....like the last.

Rarotoa [*Rarotonga*].—They say they know nothing more of it than that it is inhabited.

Tupuai [*Tubuai*].—Idem.

Puatireaura [?].—Idem.

~~Temiro~~ [Bellinshausen's *Is^a?*].—Has no people, but abounds in birds.

Hoaituputupu [*o Waitupu*].—Idem.

Marere [?].—Is peopled.

¹ Boobies and noddies. The tropic bird (*Phaethon aethereus* and *P. rubricauda*) is seen about here in flocks: so are terns. Now and again a frigate-pelican soars in view.

Ponamu [*New Zealand*].—Is peopled, and has excessively high mountain peaks: is very barren of fruits, but has fish in the greatest plenty and this is the only support of its inhabitants, who are very rude and live in caves. The people of other islands near it are afraid to land there, because, they say, there have been several instances of strangers being killed and eaten by the natives.

Genua teatea [*New Zealand*].—Is inhabited by a white people who speak the same language as those of AMAT'S, and have the same appearance; but it abounds in produce, and is larger¹.

Teonetapu [*Toungatabu*].—Inhabited.

Uritete [*Manuai ?*].—Of large size and productive, and its people very well disposed.

Oaitahò [*o Vaitahu, i.e. Tauata*, in the Marquesas Islands].—Is the largest of which any knowledge has reached them. It is high, very populous and productive: the people speak the same language as those of AMAT'S, and have the same appearance.

Oaurio [*o Auotu ?*].—Of this nothing but its existence is known.

Oaupo [?].—Idem.

Genua baro [?].—Idem.

Teputuroa [?].—Idem.

INFORMATION REGARDING

the English Frigate which has been at AMAT'S Island
on three separate occasions.

From repeated conversations we held with the Cacique Hinoi², who governs the district of *Matabai*, where the

¹ See note, p. 191.

² The younger half-brother of Tu: cf. p. 137, note 2, and p. 151.

frigate in question¹ anchored, and with other thoroughly reputable Indians of the same locality with whom a close acquaintance was kept up, I conclude:—that,

The first time she was at this island was in the year '69, when she came by way of Cape Horn; and, after bringing up at the place aforesaid, erected a very roomy barrack [or shed] over which they mounted guard with marines, and inside of which they overhauled their sails and re-coopered their water casks²:—that,

They conducted astronomical observations, since they say that a number of persons from the frigate climbed to the top of a hill, and they give clear and distinct accounts of the octant and telescope with which the observers watched the stars:—that,

Their stay in the harbour was of two months' duration, a little more or less³; and that they kept up friendly relations with the *arii* of the district all the time:—that,

They made the circuit of the whole island in their boat, and examined the harbours⁴:—that,

The lower classes made an attempt on the barrack, which they assaulted with stones; but that having resorted to arms for its defence, and the frigate having opened fire upon them at the same time, many of the islanders were killed⁵:—that,

They put the *arii* Potatau who governs in *Atahuru*⁶ under arrest on board, and clapped a pair of hand-cuffs

¹ H.M.S. *Endeavour*, Lieut. Cook.

² Quite correct. ³ From April 14th to July 13th, 1769.

⁴ Lieut. Cook with Mr Banks, in the pinnace, from June 26th to July 1st. *

⁵ This must relate to the *Dolphin's* visit in 1767: there was only a slight misunderstanding with Cook's people, and only one man, who had knocked down a sentry and made off with his musket, lost his life.

⁶ See vol. I, p. 322, note 3.

on him, and that he gave them a quantity of hogs and produce for his liberty¹ :—that,

During her sojourn there they laid in wood, water, and hogs in exchange for hatchets, knives, and clothing, and when they were fully supplied they put to sea bound for the island *Oahine*, where they lay at anchor ten days, after which they went to *Orayatea*, and when they had explored it, sailed away to the westward².

As regards the second voyage it appears that the same Frigate came, with the same officers, by way of the Horn, in the year '73 ; and anchored in the harbour of *Hatutira* (now *Santa Cruz*) whence she sailed after five days' stay, for *Matabai*³. They say she left there because Vehiatua denied them the supplies they asked for⁴, and that, when

¹ Tutaha was detained a few hours by a lieutenant, in consequence of the astronomical quadrant having been stolen by a native ; but he was liberated by Lieut Cook the instant the latter found him in custody, whom Tutaha insisted on presenting with two hogs, for which an axe and a shirt were given in return the next day. On the eve of quitting Tahiti, however, Lieut. Cook himself ordered Tutaha to be detained, with Tepau i Ahurai Tamaiti, Purea, and two other Chiefs, pending the recovery of two marines who had deserted. On their release they urged him to accept four hogs, which he declined [Bibl. nos. 10, 30, 84 *passim*].

² Substantially correct, but the *Endeavour* stayed only three days at Huahine in 1769, and the *Resolution* only four in 1773.

³ The ships this time were H.M.S. *Resolution* and *Adventure* (Capts. Cook and Furneaux) in August 1773 ; but several of their officers had been at Tahiti before, in the *Dolphin* and *Endeavour*.

⁴ It does appear from the accounts published by Cook [Bibl. no. 29] and Geo. Forster [Bibl. no. 40] of that voyage that Vehiatua maintained an unlooked-for reserve towards his visitors, and that fresh provisions were not forthcoming. It may be that the friendly relations the Chiefs and people of *Tautira* had enjoyed so short a time before with the Spaniards, during the *Aguila*'s first visit, caused them to consider the British as rivals and possible enemies of that nation and to regard their presence in the bay with distrust. If so, they would naturally withhold provisions from the ships, in the hope that their departure might thereby be hastened.

Another possible explanation of the scarcity is that a *rahui* may have been in force in *Taiarapu* at this time. A *rahui* was a general *tapu* or embargo on a particular class of produce, or even on all produce not indispensably required for current consumption. It was

leaving, they fired some shots at them with their great guns but that they suffered no injury whatever¹. At *Matabai* they laid in water, wood, produce, and hogs, giving a hatchet for each of the latter and the same for every tree they cut down for firewood. The Frigate underwent some slight boot-topping, and after ten days, sailed for *Orayatea*, where they took on board an Indian named *Ohititi*² who wished of his own accord to go, and they proceeded to sea with him. Sailing westwards they fell in with most of the islands mentioned in the foregoing narrative as lying in that direction, many of which they explored with their boat; and after a passage of thirty days, a little more or a little less, they anchored at the Island of *Guaitaho*, one of the most westerly, largest, and most productive, where they built a barrack [or shed] on shore and maintained good relations with the inhabitants, to whom they gave numerous hatchets, knives, drapery,

imposed only by a great Chief, in consequence of some weighty event, usually in favour of a reigning child. Possibly the war which had taken place after the *Endeavour's* visit, but before the *Resolution's*, when Tutaha and Tepau i Ahurai were slain at *Taravao* by Vehiatua's father's forces, had been the incentive for a *rahui*, or it may have been brought about in connection with the death of the elder Vehiatua and the coming of age of his son. A *rahui* would account for no hogs being parted with except by Vehiatua himself; and as to bread-fruit, it was out of season in *Taiarapu* in August, and we know from Forster's narrative that the trees were not in bearing. Neither Capt. Cook nor any of his comrades would be likely to comprehend the nature of a *rahui*, or be aware that it had been imposed.

¹ Forster avers that Capt. Cook himself fired three musket-shots at a native in a canoe who had committed a theft on board the *Resolution*, and that the affray did not terminate before "a four-pounder directed towards the shore frightened the inhabitants sufficiently" and two double canoes had been seized. But perfect amity was restored and continued as long as the ships remained at *Vaitepiha* Bay [Bibl. nos. 29, 40].

² Also named Mahine. His portrait, drawn from life by Hodges, in red crayon, is at Greenwich Hospital, with Tu's and Potatau's and others. The remainder of this account is substantially true; but it exhibits errors in detail, and some notable omissions. For instance *Eoa* and *Tongatabu*, where the red feathers were obtained, are quoted as *Vaitahu*: and there is no mention of New Zealand nor of Easter Island.

and knick-knacks, in exchange for their wraps of bark cloth, mats, and feathers of various colours. The natives of that island are very docile, and lighter in shade than those of AMAT's, but use the same language with slight difference, and have similar garments and customs. There is no settlement there of any other sort of people but its own natives; nor did any person from the Frigate stay behind there. They stocked themselves with hogs, water, wood, and produce; and after they had lain three months in the harbour there they put to sea and made sail for *Orayatea*, where they arrived after forty days, a little more or less, and left the aforementioned Indian provided with a quantity of clothes and implements, and among them a barrel of gunpowder, a musket, and some ammunition, so that he might practise in his own home; that being the form of amusement for which he had shown the most inclination.

This being effected, they passed on to the Island of AMAT and anchored for a third time at *Matabai*; and while there obtained a stock of all kinds of produce of the island in exchange for the feathers they got at *Oaitaho*. After lying there in harbour some thirty or forty days the Frigate in question put to sea, a matter of two months or so before our arrival at *Santa Cruz* harbour, and made sail away in a southerly direction, from which it may be inferred that she returned [homewards] by way of *Cape Meavour*.

[Bibl. no. 29]
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Note.

We had no intimation that the Indian who said ^{regard} ~~turally~~ the English to *Oaitaho* was living at *Orayatea*, until our return from thence; for, had we known it, he might have informed me at greater length of the particulars of that voyage. Still, I am satisfied that what we did learn

is substantially correct, for in the contrary event I should have done better to omit what might easily pass for vapourings.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Thomas Gayangos ff". The "ff" likely stands for "filii" (son).

REPRESENTATION

[from the missionary *Padres* to the Viceroy of Peru, with a postscript and two Enclosures¹].

Most Excellent Señor,

Having, by Your Excellency's order, been brought to this Island of Amat in the frigate named *Aguila* with a view to the conversion of the idolaters, and to prepare at the same time an account of anything noteworthy that might be met with in the Island:—We state that, having put into the harbour called by the natives *Ofatutira* on the 27th of November in the past year '74, at two in the afternoon, the Captain of the said frigate decided on the following day that his lieutenant, Don Thomas Guaiangos should proceed ashore in company with ourselves and Maximo the marine, interpreter, and the Indian native of this island named Thomas, to look about for a suitable

¹ This document was met with in the *Archivo de Indias*, and is believed to be in the packet 112-4-11, but my reference has been overlooked. Being, with the exception of Gayangos' Order, a wholly illiterate composition I copied it word for word with all faults, and translated it afterwards at leisure. The word *arii* is spelt *Ery* in the MS. throughout; *Hütutira* is written *Ofatutira*, and once *Atutira*. Other peculiarities such as 'Guaiangos,' 'Vexiatua,' *geiba*, are here printed as written; but the palpable violations of grammar, and anomalies in syntax, have been necessarily rectified in the translation; while the correct spelling of *arii* is adopted in terms of note I on p. 13 of vol. I.

site on which to set up the building intended for our dwelling-house. Not finding any convenient spot, on account of the many pools and marshy patches that cover the extremity of a tongue of land a mile in length which stretches out so as to form a point, and on whose confines the people of the district live with their *arii* Oritumu—known by the name of his father, Vexiatua—we saw ourselves obliged to single out a plot of ground in occupation as a house site and garden, near the dwelling of the said *arii*. This involved the drawback of having to go more than three *quadras*¹ to fetch drinking water and fire-wood to cook with, although there is water for cooking purposes to be had a matter of one *quadra* distant. But this latter is the river, which on its western side is affected by the surge of the sea, owing to the lowness of the land, and whose water is by this means made brackish².

The house being roofed in by the 31st of December, our provisions were landed on that same day, and were put away in the store-room: this being the first night on which we slept on shore inside the house. On the following day, the 1st of January '75, at eight o'clock in the morning, the Holy Cross was brought ashore and was erected a matter of twelve paces in front of the house, on the stump of the palm which, at the moment it was felled, had deprived the seaman Basquèz of life. A procession was formed, and the Litany of the Saints chanted, tears of joy accompanying the voices at the thought of having raised the Cross to God three in one in a land which had lain unknown throughout so many years, drums beating the while, and the military shout of victory—*Viva el Rey*—being given. The first mass was then said, concluding with the *Salve*, which the missionary *Padre Fr.* Geronimo

¹ A *cuadra* may be taken as 150 paces, or 139 English yards: see p. 128, note 2.

² Cf. p. 130, note 1.

Clota recited and sang. After having given thanks we returned to the Frigate, leaving hoisted the flag which we had brought from on board for the purpose, with Maximo the interpreter to keep watch over the house.

As to the character and disposition of the natives of the island we have found them to be naturally prone to steal, and to every kind of vice, taking satisfaction with their own hands, whether justly or unjustly, for every injury received. Nor do they subordinate themselves in any way to the *arii*, but recognise him only in so far as taking presentations of eatables to him for his use. If they fail in this obligation he banishes them from his territory; and in order to make good their return to it they go off into other Districts where they purloin, it may be canoes, or hogs, or wraps of native cloth made from certain saplings they manage to cultivate; and by means of these they regain his favour. But those who will not ransom themselves after this manner revolt against their *arii*, banding themselves together with their kinsfolk and friends for this purpose, and making a declaration of war, the signal for which is a big smoke. From this we believe them to be arrogant and overbearing; and in proof of their proclivity to theft, and at the same time of their high-handedness, we may cite what occurred on board the frigate on the 1st of January at nine o'clock at night; as well as two instances which happened, the one on the 11th of December in the past year, when they rose against the *arii* Oritumo¹ and he sought assistance from the *arii* Manajune², known by the name of Ôtù, who sent a brother of his to invoke aid from the Captain of the Frigate: and the other, the affair of the coxswain of the storeship's long-boat, who in recovering some linen or other that they had stolen received

¹ i.e. Vehiatua. See the postscript to this report p. 204, and note.

² Manahune was the name of one of Tu's ancestors [Bibl. no. 8]. The word means vassal or commoner.

May Our Lord preserve Your Excellency's valuable life for our guidance and the public weal, as we likewise pray for His Sovereign Majesty's. At this harbour of *S^r Fran^{co} de Ofatutira*: January 28th, 1775.

Most Excellent Señor,

Your most humble and loving Chaplains,

F^r GERONIMO CLOTA and *F^r NARCISO GONZALEZ*
kiss Your Excellency's hand.

Postscript.

Most Excellent Señor,

Having found that we made a mistake about the name of the *arii* which occurs in the first paragraph overleaf we have since ascertained that the man Ôritumu¹ adopted it from one of the officers of the ship that was at this island last year, and that the said *arii*'s own name is 'Vexiatua,' and his father was called 'Aguemay.' That Your Excellency may be correctly informed we now submit this note separately.

May Our Lord preserve your valuable life for the common weal and for the service of both Their Majesties. And thus we pray to God: at this harbour of *S^r Fran^{co} de Ofatutira*. The 28th of January, 1775.

Most Excellent Señor,

Your devoted Chaplains

F^r GERONIMO CLOTA and *F^r NARCISO GONZALEZ*
kiss Your Excellency's hand.

Enclosures. Copy of the Memorial, and of the Order.

¹ The only officer in the *Resolution* or the *Adventure* whose name could by any possible mutation of Tahitian phonology become 'Oritumu,' i.e. O Ritum, was Lieut. Edgcumbe, of the Marines.

Enclosure I.

MEMORIAL

[from the missionary *Padres* to the Commander of
the *Aguila*].

Señor Dⁿ Thomas Gayangos,

Fray Geronimo Clota, and Fray Narciso Gonzalez,
Apostolic Fathers of the College of Santa Rosa of Ocopa,
approach Your Honour with all submission, and state :—

THAT :—we have suffered many indignities from the native inhabitants of the Island while the frigate's return to this harbour of *Atutira* was delayed: not only at the hands of the lower classes in this District, but also from the innumerable concourse of people who gathered together to celebrate their *Geiba*¹. Not knowing the language, and our Interpreter being for some days absent, we were unable to keep aloof from the crowds which the said *Geiba* every moment brought together; but especially so because the native² of this island had deserted from our company, causing us many heart-aches, for we had believed we might rely upon him not only for our protection in case of need but also as a helpmate in attending to some of the commoner needs about the dwelling-house of our Hospice. But knowing that we must regard the said Thomas as a declared enemy (seeing that he is a recognised apostate from our holy catholic faith and showed himself somewhat rebellious not only while the Frigate was away but also, as is well known, while she lay at anchor in this harbour) and that the Interpreter, being alone and liable to be harassed by the weightier duties of our defence, in case of need, could not suffice for the many little jobs requiring to be

¹ *Heiva.*

² Pautu, re-named Thomas.

done in the ordinary course, and furthermore that the other native named Manuel was of no service by reason of his tender age, we saw ourselves compelled to perform menial offices which are not appropriate to our ministry.

For these reasons, and owing to our not having time enough left for the fulfilment of our priestly office, and for commanding to God the conversion of these infidels, we find ourselves obliged to appeal to Your Honour's exalted consideration, desiring that in view of the circumstances, you will allow us the services of two men, to remain in our company, so that by this means we may be enabled to act up to His Majesty's pleasure.

WE THEREFORE, relying on Your Honour's high sense of equity and benevolence, request and beg that you may be pleased, when your Council meets, to give your assent to our suggestion, or to act as may best accord with Your Honour's pleasure, which is all kindness and goodwill.

Fray GERONIMO CLOTA

Fray NARCISO GONZALEZ.

Enclosure II.

ORDER

[issued by the Officer commanding the *Aguila* in response to the foregoing memorial].

WHEREAS the Commander of this vessel, Dⁿ Domingo de Boenechea, is bereft of consciousness and at this moment lies at the point of death: and WHEREAS I, being the First Lieutenant of the ship and senior officer on board and holding principal rank in accordance with the King's Regulations for the Navy, am about to succeed to the Command: and WHEREAS the Rev^d missionary *Padres*

have truthfully and fairly represented certain exigencies to which they are exposed:—

THEREFORE I, with a view to spare them the grievous labour of cooking, and carrying water casks from a distance, and other inconveniences they have suffered during my absence at the Island *Orayatea*, DO HEREBY APPOINT Francisco Perez, ordinary seaman, one of the crew of this ship aforesaid, to do duty in the service of the Petitioners, without prejudice to his claim for wages due or to become due, and to draw corresponding rations, he being acquainted with farming, the care of stock, and other matters fitting for this capacity.—On board the Frigate of War *Santa Maria Magdalena* alias *Aguila*: at anchor, in the harbour of the Island of AMAT alias *Otaheyte*, this 26th of January of 1775.—THOMAS GAYANGOS.

The above is a copy *literatim* of its original which remains in my keeping.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Thomas Gayangos Jr".

MINUTE

[in the handwriting of the Secretary of State for the Indies,
endorsed on the *Padres' report*].

Tells only of woes : file.

[Unsigned]

[The following narrative forms a part of *Carta CCLXXXIV* in *El Viagero Universal*—Bibl. no. 37—which begins at page 257 of the XVIIth tomo, and is intituled *Diario del segundo viage de los Españoles á Otaheiti*. The first twenty-eight pages as printed in that work are omitted here because they deal with the same story as Gayangos' journal, and for the greater part in much the same phraseology, though they do contain one or two minor incidents of some interest, not elsewhere recorded, such as the following:

—The storeship's private signal for recognition by the frigate was a Maltese pendant with a blue flag at the fore: the frigate answered by firing a gun and repeating the same signal.

Opo's (Purahi's) double canoe, which had to be hoisted on board when that lady came off to the *Aguila* in search of her son and husband on Nov. 23rd, occupied the frigate's deck from the mainmast to the foremast.

The *Padres'* description of the site selected for their homestead set forth that it was lacking in wood and water, both of which were inconveniently far away.

They found it not a matter for surprise that Vehiatua praised the Spaniards' wine, and did not dislike any of their stews, seeing that he used to intoxicate himself on most days with the bitter beverage his henchmen brewed for him from the root called *ava*.

Andía y Varela is always quoted here as Varela—Don Joseph Varela; which tends to corroborate Fernández de Navarrete's remark that he seemed to have dropped his patronymic, in favour of his maternal surname. (*Cf.* vol. I, p. xliv, note.)

The *Padres* already murmur at the natives' proneness to 'steal,' and allege that even Vehiatua's mother Opo (Purahi) evinced no exception to this frailty, for they now bought back from her for two axes the ship's anvil, which it seems she had abstracted from the armourer's kit during the previous visit of the *Aguila*, in 1772. They also recovered from Vehiatua, by the medium of a similar bribe, the yawl's grapnel which had been stolen at Opo's instance in the same year; so that the Comandante gave orders that a marine should attend my Lady whenever she was

on board the ship, and make shift to keep a watchful eye over her doings. Nevertheless on the night when, owing to rough weather, it became necessary for her to sleep on board she asked to be provided with sheets and a pillow, which on the morrow she declined to give up. The Spaniards had yet to grasp the Polynesian idea of property, and the relation between *meum* and *tuum* as understood by natives who knew only communal tenure.

On Dec. the 13th there died on shore the only ass that had survived the voyage from Lima : the natives ate it.

On the 15th a canoe came off with two men, a woman with a child in arms, and a boy of ten years. The small child was very pretty, very fair in hue, and had red hair ; so that when the seamen caught sight of it they exclaimed "*He aquí un Inglesito !*" (Here is a little Englishman), which the *Padres* thought to be probably the case, through the natives' intercourse with the English. They called to the canoe to come alongside, and Lieut. Gayangos went down and took the child in his arms, upon which it instantly embraced him round the neck quite fearlessly. The father and mother then came on board, and the child, which seemed to be about fifteen months old, was passed about from one person to another without being in any way ruffled or concerned. It may, of course, have been an albino : Cook and Banks saw several at Tahiti.

On Dec. 20 they give a short description of Vehiatua's *marae*, as follows : 'Next day we inspected Vehiatua's *Imaray*, that is, the place where the members of his family are buried. Near the *Imaray* the Indian called *Epuré* has his house ; in front of this is a paved way extending to the *Imaray*, and in the middle of this a pole is planted, which supports an oblong platform upon which the *Epuré* sets plantains, dressed victuals and branches of plants and trees, and prays I don't know what to *Teatua*, who is their god, to appease his wrath. We also saw on the other side of the *Imaray* three pretty high posts elaborately carved, one broader than the others : on this broadest one there were five women rudely sculptured, nude and obscene. On the other two posts there were carved heads and portions of what seemed to be men's bodies. On the North side of our house there was another *Imaray*, and about a *cuadra* away towards the South another, in both of which there was a house for the *Epuré* too : in these certain platforms

(*barbacoas*) were seen, upon which they place bunches of plantains.' By *Epuré* the writers mean the *Tahua* or priest.

With reference to the strained relations that ensued on Dec. 26th and following days (*cf.* p. 149) the passage runs, 'The Comandante being doubtful what measures to take, Dⁿ Nicolás said that the *arii* Vehiatua ought to be brought on board and held in custody until the delinquer should be surrendered for the punishment he deserved; that that would not be the first arrest of the kind for the, because the Englishman Coock (*sic*) made prisoners three of the Chiefs on board his ship in the district *Oparé*, until they delivered up a seaman who had stay: on shore; and that on Vehiatua being held prisoner the would deliver over the ill-doer and he should be punishe: as a warning to the rest. The missionaries opposed them selves to this, alleging that if such were done the Otahetian: would feel very sore about it, and would vent their anger on the missionaries and the others who were to remain in the island with them, after the frigate left.'

They mention that an attempt was made, at first, to build walls or fences of *tapia* about the homestead; but that these were found to crumble and crack, and that method had to be abandoned in favour of the native style of construction. (*Tapia* means clay walls of unburnt bricks and rough-cast: for which the porous gravelly soil at Tautira is inadaptable.)

The two youths who were discovered hiding in the cha'n'ales on the night of Jan. the 1st (*cf.* p. 154) dived, in their flight, beneath the frigate's bottom and came up on the opposite side. Their punishment next day consisted, say the *Padres*, of fifty lashes apiece; and the Lady Purahi, not content with witnessing this "very mild flogging," as Gayangos terms it, afterwards gave one of them a lusty kick with her foot, and begged that their castigation might be continued; while *Taytoa* wanted to belabour them with a thick stick, but was restrained. This happened on the 2nd of January, and five days later the *Aguila* sailed from *Hatutira* for *Ra'iatae*.

The fretful and intolerant *Padres* were again annoyed by the natives' curiosity; and a stole and a small missal were pilfered from them, but recovered. They next recite the terms of the Convention, and the diary then proceeds as here presented from Jan. 7th.—ED.]

NARRATIVE

of events at *Hatutira* during the interval
between the departure of the Frigate and Storeship
for RA'IATEA

and their return from thence to the Bay of
VAITEPIHA:

January 7th to 20th, 1775.

Jan. 7th.

At ten in the forenoon the Frigate and the storeship put to sea from *Hatutira* harbour to go to the island of *Orayatea*: and the principal Indians immediately came to our hospice, with a great lot of people behind them.

Next day the headman Titorea and his wife Opo came to the hospice, and we told him we should be glad if he would give directions for the remaining part of the house to be wattled in. He immediately ordered his menials to bring over some reeds¹ that he had not very far from the

¹ The word *cana* may be correctly rendered either 'bamboo,' 'cane,' or 'reed'; and it is a little difficult sometimes to know which it really represents. In the Pacific islands the English term 'reed' is in general use to signify *Miscanthus sinensis* (Anderss.) which is much employed for panelling in the walls of houses, and often enough too for fencing compounds or garden plots. But the *bamboo* is quite as much in request for such purposes; and it seems likely, on the whole, that the *Padres'* compound was fenced with bamboos, but that the house was screened in with reed work. William Bayly, the astronomer who accompanied Capt. Cook in the *Resolution* in the quality of "observator," visited *Vaitepiha* Bay in that ship in August 1777, after the Spanish mission had been abandoned; and he kept a journal, the MS. of which I was afforded an opportunity of examining. In it he thus described the *Padres'* hospice at that date:—

"On going on shore we found a neat wood house consisting of two rooms. It appeared to have been made in some Port, as every board was marked and numbered, and the ends of the timbers were bound with Iron. The doors had iron bolts to them. In the house we found a large wood settle chair and a bedstead

hospice, awaiting some job of his own, and they put them in position so as to close in what was wanting. This work of screening in [the house] afforded us much relief; for so many of the heathen¹ from the island of *Orayatea*, and of this island itself, arrived during the afternoon to celebrate their *heybas*², or accustomed revels, that we had to make the best of things by shutting ourselves inside the house, because they kept us so distracted with the din and uproar of so many people that we got no freedom till nightfall.

On the 9th the Indians fenced in a good bit of the garden with bamboos. We gave an axe to each of the Chiefs of the island as a present, on this day: which made six, out of the eight we possessed.

The crowd of *Orayatea* people continued to press about us to our great inconvenience, for the walls being of reeds we had no place where we could seclude ourselves from their view, and everything that is inside the house can be seen at very close quarters through the doorway of the screen round it.

with a canvas skin nailed to [it] by way of sacking. There was also a few old casks in the house. Over this house they had built a house in the Otaheitian manner which effectually secured it both from wind and sun and Rain. Round the house they had inclosed an Area and Paved it with stones, and a little without it was a Pallacedo about $3\frac{1}{2}$ Feet high. In the middle of this area before the house was a wooden Cross erected, on which was this Inscription—*Christus Vincit: Carolus 3° Emperat. 1774*—and near the cross in its front the natives told us the Commodore (whose name was Orilly) was buried."

Bayly spells this name elsewhere Oriddy. But it was Gayangos, not Boenechea, who was so called; having exchanged names with o Reti, the Chief of *Hitiua*, during the *Aguila's* first visit.

¹ The term *Gentiles* is in constant use in the *Padres'* diaries, to signify 'natives.' It is customary to render it in English by 'heathen' but its original meaning would seem to be the people of the country—the tribesmen. The editor of *El Viagero Universal* has, with commendable grace, altered it to *Indios* in many places; but I consider that the *Padres* used *gentiles* to mean 'heathen' or 'pagans,' because they also wrote, in places, *infieles* (*infidels*).

² *Heiva*: the Tahitian dancing or contortionists' entertainment of that period, with various burlesque accompaniments.

In the midst of so great discomfort from the yelling of the people the day proved a joyful one for us, because Tomás, the Christian Indian, returned after having deserted us. We received him with open arms, and after the two missionaries and he had embraced, we led him into the hospice weeping—ourselves with gladness and he with confusion—and then we gave him whereof to eat. Like a certain other prodigal son he came naked and disfigured, wearing only a breech-clout, and with his back scorched by the heat of the sun. We asked him why he had run away, and he answered that it was through fear. We admonished him that he should stay with us, that he should want for nought, that he should reflect upon the great beneficence of God in his favour, through which he had become a Christian that he might be saved; and that, moreover, he ought to call to remembrance the favours he had received at the hands of the Lord Viceroy. He made some show of repentance; but it was all feigned.

At ten in the forenoon of the 11th Tomás came back afresh in the company of the *arii* Vehiatua, the headman Titorea, and his wife Opo, and also of the Chief Taytoa. His motive in coming was no other but to get the key of his chest and make over all he had in it to Vehiatua. Seeing this, we wrote out a list of everything that belonged to him; we took away the swords and such arms as the King had given him, and also the rosaries, tokens, and other little objects that it was not meet he should retain now that he was forsaking Christianity. He handed over the key of the chest to the *arii*, and took himself off; and, so far, he has never returned. We at once directed them to have the chest removed from the hospice, and they put it down in the compound. The sorrow that we felt may be conceived, seeing that a soul so favoured of God and man was going to perdition, and that we should suffer the

untold loss of all the host of heathen in these islands: inasmuch as henceforward we could but regard him as our enemy.

The Orayateans stayed on during the next two days, which obliged us to keep watch from four in the morning until eight at night. The clamour of the heathen was such that they kept us quite bewildered. In the evening all the inmates of the *arii* Otu's house came: it was necessary to admit them and show them some civility.

A heathen stole four razors from one of us, the ho^{ne} and its case, a handkerchief, a towel and a napkin. We called in the *arii* Vehiatua and he took note of the people whom we had let come within the house-screen and who had since gone. He got word of the thief, but they did not make him put in an appearance. They brought back everything, however, except the towel and the napkin.

At eleven in the forenoon there arrived a great number of canoes laden with eatables for Otu and his people, so that the tale of the Indians was thus increased, and they at once came to the hospice. We took our meal in the presence of all this throng, as we had the *arii* Vehiatua as our guest. The hubbub was so great that we could not hear one another [speak]; and the crowd continued without ever quitting the screen round the house until three in the afternoon, when the *heyba* began, and even that did not leave us in any lack of people to annoy us.

At four in the morning of the 15th we rose to say a mass, and scarcely was it over when we had the headman Taytoa inside the hospice, and the screen surrounded with people. A little later the *arii* Vehiatua arrived, with others, and they came inside. At nine that morning came Opo, Vehiatua's mother, with her son aged eight years¹, a very

¹ This young Chief was named Natapua, and was heir apparent in *Taiarapu*, where he became the principal *arii* on the death of his brother Vehiatua a few months later. His age at this time was as

bright and prankish boy of whom his mother was extremely fond; and in order to give him his way in everything she asked Manuel for the loose breeches of a gipsy costume, the red sash belonging to it, and some stockings and shoes: all of which Manuel gave to her. On our seeing this we told the mother that Manuel had nothing else to wear but these breeches, and no other shoes to put on, nor any sash but that one for a girdle; and that therefore the child must not go out of the hospice without leaving them all: to which she made answer that those clothes were her son's, because he was Manuel's Chief. In the end the mother herself stripped the clothes from him, and as she was going off with them one of the missionaries took them from her by force, with the exception of the red silk sash, which the son had put on as a breech-clout. At this his mother made a great fuss, and, not content with having taken Manuel's clothes from him, she wanted the chest as well; for her covetousness knew no bounds.

More than five hundred Indians collected at the hospice during the morning, so that they left us no room to have our breakfast.

The *arii* Otu, his brother Hinoy, and his father¹, dined with us; but although the mother² was also there she took no food because the women do not eat in the presence of their men folk, be they even their sons or husbands: neither do they sleep in the same house with them. The clatter of the Indians wanting to come inside our house lasted throughout the day.

stated, but he died as early as 1790. He was succeeded in office by Churchill, one of the mutineers of the *Bounty* who had gained his confidence and been his *taio*, but this person was soon afterwards shot by his former shipmate Thompson [Bibl. no. 96].

¹ This was Teu, also known as Hapai (the Whappai of Cook): he was about 54 years of age at this time and lived until 1802.

² O Tu's mother was the Lady Tetupaia i Ra'iatea. Her espousal by Teu took place between 1740 and 1750. As to Hinoy see p. 137, n. 2.

On the morning of the 18th the marine, Máximo, started off for the district of *Tayarapú* to fetch the unruly bull that had strayed from *Ohatutira*. When we thought the Indians' revellings were over, and that we should find relief from the anxieties and keeping watch that we had endured all these days, we found ourselves beset, at seven in the morning, by a vast number of new-comers to the *heyba*. On this day, too, the *arii* Vehiatua took himself off, and Otu was the only one of the Chiefs who remained to come to the hospice worrying us morning and afternoon: begging us for plantains, out of the few we had. Although the Indians gave offence to us by word and by deed in front of him, he made no move whatever to check them! However much we asked him to send away the people who left us no peace he took no notice beyond picking up a stone from the ground, and handing it to us to throw at them. To this we replied that we were not doing harm to anybody, whereon he put down the stone and went away. These passages occurred several times when Vehiatua and his headmen were present, so that it would seem that the Chiefs have no recourse of any kind against them [the commoners] excepting when they fail to furnish them with victuals; but that then they banish them to another district, from which it costs them dear to get back again because they have [in such case] to bring the *arii* an offering—it may be a canoe, or some other articles that they hold prescribed in such cases.

At six in the evening, as they were returning homewards from the *heyba*, a great number of them of all sexes and ages came to our hospice to provoke us. They called out to us through the screen round the house "*Guariro!*—" which means 'thieves':—" *Neneva!*—" which means 'fools':—" *Poreho!*—" signifying shell-fish¹, but used among themselves

Tahitians of whom I enquired the meaning of *poreho* as an opprobrious epithet readily explained it—whether rightly or wrongly

to express the privy parts, making grossly obscene mockery of us the while; and others called us "*Harimiri*," which means "old gaffers." These terms we caught the meaning of ourselves; the rest, which no doubt were equally opprobrious, we did not understand. Meanwhile the women [looked on] with roars of laughter: the boys took their cue from the rest. We offered no retort. This lasted more than half an hour, and then they went home to their dwellings.

On the morrow the concourse of Indians round about the hospice subsided, but there were not wanting enough of them to harass us until seven o'clock at night, at which hour the *arii* Vehiatua, Titorea and Opo, and the headman Taytoa, with their following, returned.

On the 20th such was the crowd of Indians at our hospice that there were not less than two thousand persons, big and little, of both sexes. Prior to all these many people gathering together they brought us a few little fish called *toreles*¹, which we dressed and ate before them all. While we were alone with Manuel, and not remembering to keep patrolling round the house, the Chiefs came up desiring to be admitted with their followers. We let them in, and all we got by it was to be laughed at not only by the *plebs* outside, but also by the persons we had admitted, who mimicked our manner of speaking and our gesticulations. These went away, and a little while afterwards the mothers of Vehiatua and Otu arrived; and, while we were conversing with them through the medium of Manuel as interpreter, there came Máximo, who was bringing back the obstreperous bull with a lot of fuss and yelling and a vast number of Indians.

I will not vouch. They said "Oh yes! that must have been in allusion to the *Padres'* tonsures: our people would immediately liken them to the rounded and shiny surface of a cowrie shell."

¹ This is merely a wrong reading of *jurel*, Spanish for scad and mackerel.

An immense number who were at the *heyba* revels going on about a *quadra*¹ away then joined the throng, and with them came Vehiatua. He asked for "aba de Lima"², which we refused him: then he wanted some fish, out of the small quantity we had. The table was laid, and we sat together at the repast. They served us with three fish, and there was nothing besides; but Vehiatua did not manage to get through one. He got up from the table and set himself to eat plantains while sitting amongst his attendants in the doorway of the house, and at the same time drinking the juice of the *aba* plant, which is the stuff that intoxicates them. Then he went to the back of the house with them and stretched himself in a fuddled condition on the Christian Indian's mattress, where the attendants fanned him with leaves. We two missionaries went out and gave directions that they should convey him home: they picked him up in their arms and took him away.

At four in the afternoon of this day the Frigate entered the harbour, on her return from *Orayatea*.—

[The next sentence in *El Viagero Universal* is a statement that *Fr.* Narciso went off to the frigate to welcome his shipmates back from *Ra'iatae*; but that he was met with the news of the Comandante's serious illness, in consequence of which, and on the advice of the surgeon, the viaticum was administered the next day.

From this point the narrative is no more than the editor's abridgement of Lieut. Gayangos' own log³ from the 21st to the 28th of January, when the *Aguila* finally put to sea for the return voyage to America. It extends to only two pages of print in sm. 8^{vo} and is not of any moment here.

¹ See p. 128, note 2.

² The Padres had six jars of wine and two of brandy among their stores. See p. 97.

³ As narrated by González de Agüeros [Bibl. no. 48].

The diary of occupies *Carta no. 26 Padre* after the frigate's departure p. 296 to p. 316, and i. XXXV in *El Viagero Universal*, from to Don Cayetano de Lapllowed by their protest addressed 1775: and the list of islára dated the 4th of November, printed at pp. 187-194 of the^{is}s recorded by Gayangos (as concludes with the sentence "Tésent volume). The *Carta que formó el Piloto del Aguila l^o esto consta del Diario* Fr. Pedro González de Agüera's Estala took his 'copy' from *Fr. Pedro González de Agüera's* book published five years earlier [Bibl. no. 48] which exhibits the same blunder as to the authorship of the journal, stated in the very same words (*cf. vol. I hereof*, p. xxxvi).

There is no need to follow Estala's work any further here, because I had the good fortune to meet with a transcript of the *Padres'* diary from this point forward, in the *Real Academia de la Historia*. It was made for Don Juan Baptista Muñoz about the year 1782; and, being unabridged and of earlier date than *El Viagero Universal*, I copied it and have used it as the most authentic document available for making the translation which follows Andía y Varela's journal in this volume. It is signed (in copy) only by *Fr. Geronimo Clota*, but was doubtless composed by the two *Padres* jointly, since they are each named in it in the third person. It begins on Jan. 28th and ends on Nov. 12th, 1775: thus covering the whole period of their occupation at Tahiti from the day on which the frigate left, and presenting a minute account of the experiences of the first Europeans who ever resided in the island without the presence of their ship, and without any protection but that of the native Chiefs.

From the short narrative of their plight at *Hatutira* while the frigate was away at *Ra'iataea* (pp. 211-218) the reader will have perceived how absolutely unfitted the temperaments of these two bigots were for gaining the respect, or even the mere good-will, of a Polynesian community. In the relation of their later experiences, and in the remarkable diary kept by Máximo the Interpreter (vol. III) it becomes farther apparent that more narrow-minded, peevish, illiberal, and pusillanimous envoys could hardly have been found, among a reputable and high-principled body like the members of the Ocpa college, to whom to assign the difficult and previously untried enterprise of grafting the Christian Faith on to the religious cult of the Tahitian race. T
not

be blamed for ignoring the individual ^{at} idiosyncrasies of these missionaries—a judicious selection was naturally a matter for which he must rely on those already well acquainted with the brotherhood, and the personal qualities of its component friars. That His Excellency felt thoroughly disappointed with these *Padres* is clear from the strictures on their failure expressed ⁱⁿ his Recital (vol. I, p. 16); and in his despatch no. 1180^{ij} to the Secretary of State, wherein he deplores "the lukewarmness of the missionaries, who" were "terrorized by incidents of little weight." There is, however, something to be said in defence of Fr. Narciso, who appears (from Máximo's diary) to have been a chronic dyspeptic; and there is just this to be remembered in favour of Fr. Geronimo—that he was, of the two, the less timid and less slothful, for he did sometimes venture out of the hospice and even go short distances afield for walks with Máximo, or to minister to Vehiatua in his extremity of illness.

In their favour it must also be pointed out that there is absolutely no evidence to justify the insinuation of licence or immorality on their part printed by William Ellis, surgeon's mate of the *Discovery* [Bibl. no. 107, p. 127], but rather the contrary.—ED.]



THE
JOURNAL

OF DON JOSÉ DE ANDÍA Y VARELA

while in command of his bark the *Júpiter*,

in which are related the events of a voyage

TO THE ISLAND OF AMAT

and others adjacent thereto :

UNDER CONVOY OF THE FRIGATE *AGUILA*,

commanded by Captain Don Domingo de Boenechea,

1774-5.